

American Anti-Slavery
Society
Report
1835/36

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J. A. Allen

THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;

WITH THE

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY
MEETING,

HELD IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

On the 10th May, 1836,

AND THE

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR
BUSINESS.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM S. DORR,
123 Fulton Street.

1836.

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ADDRESS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Auxiliaries and Members of the American Anti-Slavery Society :

DEAR BRETHREN—Having, by your suffrages and the providence of God, entered upon the third year, as your Executive Committee, we desire to address you, at this interesting crisis on the prospect before us.

The anniversary was numerously attended by the friends of the cause, and by those who are halting between two opinions; and the addresses and resolutions indicated increasing strength in our righteous undertaking. The business meetings of the Society occupied the two following days, and in the various discussions, plans, and resolutions, great unanimity, zeal, and liberality prevailed. We bless God that our path is illuminated by the light of his countenance, that the union of the brethren is so cordial and strong, that our numbers and resources are so rapidly increasing, and that we have such constantly increasing evidence for the belief that, under God, our labors will issue in the peaceful and speedy termination of slavery in this nation.

At the anniversary the following resolution was adopted :—

“Resolved, That impressed with the vastness of the moral, political, social and personal evils of slavery, and encouraged by the success that has attended our labors, this society is desirous of giving increased energy to its exertions during the ensuing year, and therefore, we, who are here present, do pledge ourselves to pay into the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the present year, our proportion of the sum of *fifty thousand dollars*.”

On the subsequent days subscriptions and pledges were made, on behalf of auxiliaries and by individuals, amounting to twenty-one thousand dollars. Part of this sum was paid on the spot, and we entertain no doubt that the remainder will be honorably and promptly paid into the treasury. We invite auxiliaries and friends of the cause, who were not among those thus contributing or pledging, to send on immediately the amount for which they will respectively be responsible, for the use of the Society the ensuing year. It is our earnest desire that the amount specified in the foregoing resolution should be made sure without delay, in order that immediate arrangements may be made for its economical and profitable expenditure. We affectionately and earnestly invite attention to this momentous topic, and in the name of the friends of human rights, and on behalf of the oppressed, we entreat that ample means may be speedily supplied for giving wider range and increased energy to the agencies employed by this society, to enlighten and lead the nation to repentance on the subject of slavery. This is emphatically the seed time. Let the seed be freely and liberally sown, and the harvest will be speedy and abundant. “He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.”

The plan adopted a year since, with reference to the publications of the Society will be continued with an enlargement of operations. A weekly newspaper, entitled THE EMANCIPATOR, has been recently commenced. It will be supported by a subscription of two dollars per annum, always in advance. The editor is the Rev. Amos A. Phelps. This paper is commended to the support of abolitionists through the land, as it will contain the most recent intelligence received by the Executive Committee, and be the official organ of the Society. Monthly newspapers, entitled HUMAN RIGHTS, and THE VOICE OF FREEDOM, [altered from monthly Emancipator] together with monthly magazines styled ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, and SLAVE'S FRIEND, will continue to be issued, and large editions published. They will be sold at a low rate to subscribers, and will be furnished to auxiliaries for gratuitous distribution among those who are ignorant of Anti-Slavery doctrines and measures, or prejudiced, without due inquiry, against them. The ANTI-SLAVERY QUARTERLY will be continued under the editorial care of Elizur Wright, Jr. The best talents in the Society will be engaged in its support. In addition to the above named publications, pictorial representations of slavery and of emancipation will be prepared by artists, as heretofore, in order that the eye may be addressed as an avenue to the heart and the conscience; and occasional pamphlets will be published as the means are afforded, and opportunities of doing good shall be presented.

But while unsparing efforts will be made to give wider circulation to the publications of the Society, the Executive Committee are well aware of the impor-

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THIRD ANNIVERSARY
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THE Third Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was celebrated on the 10th day of May, 1836, at the Presbyterian church, corner of Houston and Thompson streets, at 10 o'clock, A.M. The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. ARTHUR TAPPAN.

Prayer was offered by CHARLES STUART.

The fifth chapter of the Epistle of James was read by the Rev. JOEL MANN.

An abstract of the Annual Report was then read by ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

On motion of THOMAS SHIPLEY, of Philadelphia,

Resolved, That the Annual Report be accepted, and approved, and that it be enjoined on the Executive Committee to publish the same, as far as possible, throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Hon. WILLIAM JAY said, Mr. President, this society has from the first avowed, that the object of its labors is two-fold—the liberation of the slave, and the elevation of the colored man. We are accused of aiming to effect the one by insurrection, and the other by amalgamation.

The calumnies by which we are assailed have been excited, not by the means we have employed, but by our bold and persevering vindication of human rights. Those rights are violated, not merely by the slave laws of the south, but also by the oppression of the colored people at the north; and above all, by the BLACK ACT of Connecticut, which at once outrages the constitution of our country and the religion of Jesus Christ.

We demand the acknowledgment and enjoyment of these rights—rights which are the gift of the beneficent Father of us all, and which are founded on his grant, and not on the tincture of a skin. This demand is the sum and substance of our offence. We seek no visionary equality. We have taken no lessons in the school of the ferocious republic of infidel France. We propose no common measure of property, talent, influence or honor. But we do insist that all mankind, irrespective of complexion, are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and have equal claims to justice and humanity.

It is no part of our purpose, to prescribe rules for domestic and social intercourse. Such an interference would of itself be a trespass on the rights of others, since persons of every complexion are unquestionably entitled to select their own associates, and to regulate the intercourse of their own families. We ask no favors for ourselves—we ask none for our colored brethren. But we do intend to assert and maintain our own RIGHTS; and we intend to assert *their* RIGHTS, and to use all lawful means to obtain them.

It is this determination that has exposed us to vituperation and personal violence. Politicians have essayed to barter our constitutional liberties, for southern votes.—Wealthy merchants, too busy to examine our principles, have yet been tempted by southern custom to snatch an hour from their counting houses to defame us in public meetings; while the inmates of the grog-shops, believing the charges against us, and knowing us to be temperance men, are ever ready to mob us at the signal of their more intelligent and more guilty leaders.

And yet, sir, we are but uttering and enforcing the great doctrine of human rights, taught by the fathers of our republic. True it is, we are now told that the assertion of this doctrine in the Declaration of Independence was but “a rhetorical flourish.” I will not stop to repel the slander, but with your permission I will embody in a resolution, a sentiment uttered in 1785 by the first President of the first society ever formed for the abolition of slavery—a sentiment, I trust, that will receive the assent, not merely of this assembly, but of every abolitionist in the United States. I offer it as a contrast to the base treachery of our present politicians to the cause of human rights, and also as a tribute to the memory of my revered parent. The resolution I propose is the following:

Resolved, That this society cordially reiterates the wish expressed in 1785, by JOHN JAY, “that the time may soon come when all our inhabitants of every color and denomination, may be free and equal partakers of our political liberty.”

On motion of Rev. ELON GALUSHA, pastor of the
2d Baptist church in Rochester,

Resolved, That slavery, as it exists in the United States, is repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, and must cease before the millennium can come—therefore, it is the imperious duty of christians, to labor and pray for its immediate and peaceable termination.

He rose, he said, under all the embarrassments of a noviciate. He was but little skilled in conducting this mighty moral contest; and should he, through weakness, fail to rouse the conscience, enlighten the head, or move the heart of his auditors, he should still enjoy the sweet solace of having publicly avowed his attachment to those immutable principles of rectitude which he did love and would continue to love far beyond his ability to elucidate or defend them. The

first sentiment in the resolution was that Slavery was in direct contradiction to the spirit of the gospel; and on this point there would be no necessity of an elaborate argument. A single glance at the page of Scripture would set the truth of the position in the strongest and most convincing light. The two systems were utterly hostile to each other. The one required its votaries "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God;" while the other directly opposed and subverted each one of these requirements. The one enjoined a sacred regard to the rights of all men; but Slavery disannulled all rights, and authorized one man to trample with ruthless cruelty on the most sacred and inalienable rights of another. Slavery dubbed the master both pope and king. It placed upon his brow both the mitre and the crown, and made him a despotic lord over all the rights, civil, moral, and religious of his unhappy slave. The rights of personal liberty, of property, of conscience, and of the pursuit of happiness were all inherent, immutable, and eternal. They were based on the nature of our being, and were the rich endowments of our Creator. But Slavery declared the whole of them to be absolute nonentities. It annihilated the identity of the very being of the slave, and made him the mere appendage of his master. It took the acknowledgement of the deed which conveyed both the soul and body in fee simple to his neighbor. It practised on the colored man a moral amputation. It decapitated him, it decapitated, it dementated him, and it even disembowelled him, disposing of his limbs, his muscles, and his very heart, and every pulsation of it at the mere will and pleasure of his master. It required him to eat, drink, and sleep, that he might be able to labor for that master. It demanded that he should live, move, and have his being solely and entirely for the pleasure and profit of another. He would not affirm that this was what a humane slaveholder actually did, but it was what slavery authorized him to do, and what too many ruthless slaveholders actually did. This was that "doing justly" which slavery dictated. It not only declared that a slave could neither acquire nor possess any property whatever, but it protected the licentious master in plucking from his female slave the only remaining jewel of her sex's glory. And did she but lift her hand to repel the robber, she might be legally consigned to death. And as to rights of conscience, slavery allowed the master to shut out from the mental vision of his slave the broad light of heaven, and to make and to keep his soul a perfect moral blank. Nay, it compelled him, whether he would or not, to withhold from his benighted victim that golden lamp of heavenly truth which alone could show him the path to heaven. And as to social life and the pursuit of happiness, it was not for him to say whether the wife of his bosom should continue for another day to be the solace of his earthly cares; whether his beloved babe should continue to hang on the maternal embrace, and should grow up, under the eyes of its parents, their pride and hope. No; for slavery came in with its thundering voice and crushing arm, and in a moment shattered all the fabric of his little hopes and plans into atoms. Was this the justice that the Bible required man should do to his fellow man!

And as to the second rule, of "loving mercy," he would only ask whether slavery, as a system, knew of any mercy? No doubt there were many slave-masters who were solicitous to restrain its utmost rigors; but had the spirit and genius of the system, as such, any acquaintance with mercy? It was said to be merciful, because it took the guidance of those who were incompetent to guide

and govern themselves. But if its mercy was indeed from heaven, why not dispense it equally, and spread it universally? Why not arrest every improvident white man, set him upon the block, and deliver him to the highest bidder that he might have heaven's mercy dealt out to him in the guidance and government of his affairs? Why not dispense this mercy to some of the sons of slaveholders themselves, whose conduct seemed to proclaim that they had as much spare room in their upper story as any black man on their father's estate?—Why not consign these young men to the mercies of slavery, turn them out on the plantation, and let them enjoy the bland light of the sun, and the gentle and refreshing dews of heaven, and let their food be dealt out to them by measure and by time? The rule of God required men not merely to do mercy, but to love it from the heart. To shew mercy as the Savior did, when he left his glory and came down and groaned and died upon the cross. Was it to dispense to men such mercy as slaveholders dispense to their slaves?

The third requirement of Heaven was that men should "walk humbly with their God." But was it humility to reply to the fiat of Jehovah which said to the slave "Thou art a living soul," it is a mistake; he is but a chattel, a thing of traffic? God had said, "All souls are mine." Was it humble to reply: "There is error here; that slave is mine?" God had expressly required us to love our neighbor as ourselves. This was the broad, fundamental principle of every dispensation he had given to men. It had been adopted into the New Testament code, and carried even farther than before. But was it loving our neighbor to destroy all his rights to compel him to toil for our benefit, to cast burning embers into his bosom, to float his eyes with anguish, to sunder all the tenderest ties of his heart, nay, to shut out the very light of heaven from the dark moral prison-house of his soul, to withhold from him the means of expanding his deathless powers,—powers created to range through eternity? To doom his offspring to hopeless bondage, and to bid him bow down his body into the dust that we might trample upon it at will? Oh, surely, the spirit of slavery and the spirit of the gospel were utter antipodes in the moral world.

Again, did not the gospel enjoin the sacredness of the marriage tie, and had not God prohibited all interference with those rights? Was it not the language of inspiration, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder?" And was it a compliance with this requirement to set up a man's wife to sale before his eyes, to send her away where he should never behold her again, leaving her husband to weep and howl in his solitary hut, haunted by the visions of his dear, long-loved, but departed companion? God required parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. But slavery interdicted this mandate of high heaven. It took a man's child away from him, and consigned it to the will and control of another. Where was food to be found for the soul if not in the word of God? But slavery denied that so much as a morsel of this heavenly bread should be administered to a child by a paternal hand. And if the father, risking a disobedience to its cruel injunctions, should seek in the secrecy of midnight, to teach the elements of saving truth to his little boy, by the dim light of his concealed torch, and the profligate son of his master, returning from some midnight debauch, should perceive a ray of light from the humble dwelling, and should discover what was passing within, that Christian father was liable to be instantly arrested and led away to condign punishment.

The Savior commanded that his gospel should be preached to all, but slavery set itself in opposition to this command, and forbade his messengers from executing their commission among those who most needed the solace of the Christian faith and hope. It was said, indeed, that oral instruction was permitted to the slave by law. Yes; but it was at the option of his master, who could at pleasure put an absolute veto upon the light of heaven.

It being thus obvious that slavery is in opposition to the whole spirit and tenor of the gospel, could it be believed, that such an institution was to flourish and prevail, amidst the brightness of the millennial day. Surely in those halcyon times, when the lion shall lie down with the lamb, when the venomless serpent was to sport with the young child, and the weaned child was to play upon the hole of the cockatrice's den, there would be no such sight in all God's holy mountain as a haughty and ferocious master frowning on his slave. All pride, and usurpation, and oppression, and cruelty, would have fled away before the breath of peace and the smile of kindness; and was it not then the obvious duty of all Christian men both to pray and to labor for the removal of so great and manifest an obstacle in the way of Emmanuel's glory?

Mr. G. said he was well aware that many men of consideration and standing, deemed that standing far too valuable to be jeopardized upon the altar of freedom. They had listened to the cry of the mob, to the voice of proscription, to the anathemas which had been cast on the best and most virtuous of men. They had witnessed the utter disregard of a well-earned reputation of forty or fifty years of virtue and benevolence, and had seen our most estimable men treated as things of nought to be reviled, and persecuted at pleasure; and they dreaded sharing the same fame. But, he asked, whose property was the Christian's reputation? To whom did it belong, and to whom had it been voluntarily consecrated? Had the Son of God proceeded on the principles of these men, had he deemed the standing he held in heaven too high and too precious to be abandoned for the work of our salvation, our race might have pined and withered in despair, and perished together in the second death. But Jesus acted far otherwise. He beheld the world of mankind under the dominion of the great slaveholder. He panted for their emancipation; he determined to accomplish it; and leaving his palace in the skies, he exchanged it for the manger, for the garden and the cross. And did men who profess to be his disciples consider their reputation and standing as too precious to be put in jeopardy for the sake of a like enterprise, to be sacrificed in the cause of human freedom, in conveying the same grace which saved themselves to the poor heathen, in the midst of them?

In closing his address, Mr. G. observed, that if ever there was an emergency which called for bold, united, determined, unblushing, indomitable, persevering action, the present day exhibited such an emergency. The liberties of men were crushed, the rights of conscience denied, the lamp of heavenly truth proscribed and forbidden, and reproach and obloquy cast on every effort of Christian benevolence. The missionary enterprise itself was almost blasphemed by its advocates continuing to hold two millions of their fellow men in bondage. Christians were called to gird on their arms, to face their now unmasked opponents, and to contend manfully for victory. They looked to God for success, and God's own matchless arm would assuredly be made bare for the deliverance of the oppressed. Let Christian professors act according to their own faith. While they

pray, let them labor, and let efforts with prayer come up before God for a memorial. Then would He awake for the poor and the needy, and pluck his right hand out of his bosom in the cause of those who were appointed to perish. When his people rose up with one heart and with one soul to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty, then would the mighty tide of his divine influence swell and roll onward, with augmented power, till slavery's curse should be swept from off the face of the earth from pole to pole.

REV. S. L. POMEROY, of Bangor, (Me.,) said that he had been requested to offer a resolution, and he should do so. But he doubted whether he ought to say a single word after what had been said and was yet to be said on this occasion. He should be very brief. It had been expected by many that in the course of six months this society would disband itself, tear up its constitution and proclaim to all men that its members were now convinced they had, as some men say, got into a wrong pew. This had been most confidently predicted. When the earthquake, which commenced in Virginia and shook all the south, came rolling and thundering until it reached the state of Maine, where he resided, away off east, it was immediately prophesied that it would dissolve all the abolition societies very speedily; that the abolitionists would get upon their knees, would humbly beg pardon and assure their opponents they had not meant any mischief. But now he had come to New-York, and found a meeting of the abolition society, and its president, and its executive committee, some of whom he had feared he should never meet again in this world, all alive and well, with not a limb broken, nor any other bodily injury that he could perceive. He now proposed the following resolution,

Resolved, That the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society are not yet convinced that its doctrines are false, or that it ought to be abandoned; but, on the contrary, they are, if possible, more determined than ever, by the help of God, to persevere in their great and good work, until the grand object of their association shall have been accomplished.

He said that some men wished very much to know why the abolitionists were so stubborn? why after such decided expressions of opinion had been given by so many wise and distinguished men, so many great men and small men and all sorts of men, that the abolitionists were wrong, their doctrines wrong, and their measures bloody and horrible; these men should nevertheless still go on? He would endeavor briefly to answer the inquiry. They had many reasons for it. And one was, that these beings, these creatures for whose good they continued to labor and pray, were men. Some might wonder at his laying down this as a reason, and ask, who ever doubted or denied that slaves were *men*? But it was a fact that some men did both doubt and deny it. Some maintained that they belonged to another race. One class of opponents denied outright that they were human creatures; while another thought that they were almost men, that they came but a little short of it, yet that they were not quite men; while others again remained in doubt upon the point, thinking that perhaps they might, and perhaps they might not be men. Now he should not go into any labored argument to settle that point. But the abolitionists believed and held them to be men, created in the image of God, and with all the attributes and properties of men, having the form, the stature, the reason, the memory, and the conscience of men. They believed that these beings could write upon philosophy, could make laws and make poetry, and instruct, and reason, and draw conclusions; and do all that other

men can do; and that they had done it. Yes, abolitionists held that slaves were *men*.

"How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,
 How complicate, how wonderful is man!
 How passing wonder, he who made him such,
 Who centred in our make such strange extremes!
 From different natures marvellous'y mix'd,
 Connexion exquisite of distant worlds;
 Distinguished link in being's endless chain,
 Midway from nothing to the Deity.
 A beam ethereal, sullied and absorp't,
 Though sullied and dishonored, still divine!
 Dim minature of greatness absolute!
 An heir of glory! a frail child of dust!
 Helpless immortal! insect infinite!
 A worm! a god! I tremble at myself,
 And in myself am lost. At home a stranger
 Thought wanders up and down, surprised, aghast,
 And wondering at her own. How reason reels!
 O what a miracle to man is man,
 Triumphantly distress'd! what joy, what dread!
 Alternately transported and alarmed!
 What can preserve my life? or what destroy?
 An angel's arm can't snatch me from the grave;
 Legions of angels can't confine me there."

This, said Mr. P. is man—our brother man, be he of what color, of what clime, of what language, of what nation he may; and we are required to love our neighbor as ourselves: not our neighbor of one color, nor of one climate, nor tongue, nor shape, but our neighbor who is a man; and we are authorized to feel an interest both in his temporal and eternal welfare. And because we hold the abject, the degraded, the down-trodden, the bleeding children of Africa to be *men*, therefore it is that we persevere in our efforts for their deliverance.

Another reason is, that they are not only men, but *American* men, our countrymen. And I suppose we are bound to feel a deeper interest in our own family, and fire-side, and county, than for those that are afar off. Here we are primarily bound; because the peculiar relations we sustain bind us. We of America, form but one great family, a family of human beings, whatever be our color or other distinction, and as such we are bound to seek each other's happiness temporal and eternal.

Another reason is, that these men, these American men, are immortal men. I beg that it may never be forgotten that the grand merits of this whole Abolition question, turn upon the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Take away that and I will be silent; you make men brutes. But allow them immortal souls, and what then? Then they have the same interests in eternity as we ourselves. Then they live under the same condemnation, are plunged in the same apostasy, need the same Savior, and require the same hopes, motives and consolations with us all. And if we are bound to feel for every immortal man, in other lands, even the most distant, on the opposite side of the world, much

more are we bound to those who are in our own borders. And believing that these, our immortal fellowmen, are held in a cruel bondage and most wickedly oppressed, we are resolved to persevere till every shackle shall be stricken from their limbs, and they shall enjoy the rights that pertain to them as immortal men, and shall be at liberty to pursue, without hindrance, the great interests of their deathless souls.

But we have another reason. Some of these men, American men, these American immortal men, are also *Christian* men. And shall we be told that is a reason why their rights may be trampled upon, and that they are better off than freemen? Forgive me, I cannot hold such an opinion. On the contrary, I hold this very fact to be the strongest of all arguments, and the best of all reasons for their immediate emancipation. We have been told that in South Carolina, and we are told it by one who preaches to them, and I hope preaches the truth of the gospel, and who ought to know all about the matter, and says he does, that there are not less than forty-five thousand reputable professors of religion, who are there held in bondage. Yet the same man tells us that it will never do to turn them loose for fear they should turn round and cut their masters' throats. Thousands of reputable professors of the religion of Christ, believed to be Christians, and admitted to the communion table as Christians, and yet it will not do to set them free, because they would immediately murder their masters. Why, sir, what age of the world do we live in? What! are we to stand stupidly like blocks and stones, and behold thousands and tens of thousands of human beings with souls and minds like our own, kindled by the same ray from heaven, and hastening to the same world of light and blessedness, deprived of every right, and yet have all our sympathies locked up and frozen? and let them live and die in their bondage and say, we cannot help it? Is this the love of the Christian for his Christian brethren? No; the very argument that is brought for slavery, is the very reason why we shall continue to labor, and pray day and night, and never cease or give over till their shackles fall. Ought they not, and might they not be set free this moment?

I have one other reason: these men, our countrymen, immortals, and Christians, are most wickedly deprived of all those rights, intellectual, moral, and civil, which God has given to man. They are oppressed, and shall not man sympathize with the oppressed? Let a gang of rude and cruel men meet a child in one of our streets, and strike him, and abuse him, and repeat their blows, deaf to his entreaties and his tears, and where, I ask, are our sympathies? Are they with the men who abuse him; No; they are with the oppressed and abused child. Let suffering humanity be presented to any men on the face of the globe, and their sympathies will invariably go to the oppressed, and not to the oppressor. We may indeed pity the men who can do so wickedly, but our sympathies are ever with the victims.

I have one reason more; and it is this. We are ashamed of our country. The blush is on our cheek. We cannot stand up before the world

like men. We feel ashamed. A nation so favored of heaven, so blessed above all men, so privileged with rights and institutions, and all the blessings of freedom, a nation which has written it on the heavens that all men are born free and equal, and have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is, at this moment, standing on the necks of more than two millions of its own citizens. Now we are republicans, and boast of the doctrines of freedom. How then shall we stand up and not blush, and hang our heads, when every finger of the civilized world is pointed at us; when every European vessel that comes to our shores, comes fraught with curses on our heads; and justly; when all her literature is against us; when our own conscience is against us; and God's bible is against us; when we have heaven against us; and know that all we value on earth, is against us too, how can we help being ashamed? Yes, sir, there is the blush of shame on the cheek of this nation; but it is our fixed purpose to persevere till that blush shall retire, and the national countenance shall be seen to look forth, fair as the morning enlightening the nations of earth.

These, Mr. President, are the reasons, why we abolitionists mean to hold on, and not to give up our cause. As for all the clamor, and violence, and threats, which our cause has called forth, they only convince us, that we have hit the nail upon the head; that we have got hold of the truth, and have put it in the right place, and at the right time. So far from admitting that we are wrong, these are the very things that prove to us that we are right; and if we are not encountered by a gag law, if the press is not muzzled, and the right of speech is allowed us, the truth will go far and wide, its power will be felt throughout the land, and slavery will die. But now the grand question is, shall we ourselves remain free? Shall the right of discussion be continued to us? Give us that, and we have the whole; and again I say, slavery will die. I will only add we are confidently expecting that the grand movement which has already been begun, will continue to roll on, and roll on, till presently, yes, sir, presently multitudes shall wake up as from a trance, and find to their surprise, that slavery is dead, root and branch.

Let mammon hold while mammon can,
The bones and blood of living man;
Let tyrants scorn while tyrants dare,
The shrieks and writhings of despair;
The end will come, it will not wait,
Bonds, yokes and scourges have their date.
Slavery itself must pass away,
And be a tale of yesterday.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That notwithstanding the often-repeated declaration, that the Northern States have nothing to do with slavery; it is nevertheless true, that considerations of religion, humanity and national policy require them both to be interested in that subject, and to act upon it.

I have not risen, Mr. President, to surprise you with original thoughts and speculations; but to attempt to dispose of a standing objection to our cause by a train of arguments with which you are perfectly familiar; but which some persons present, and some persons who will read the report of the proceedings of this meeting, may not have duly considered.

I need not consume my time to show, that a system, which denies to millions of men the Bible and the marriage institution, and the right of holding property, and turns them into cattle—into mere merchandize and chattles—and, in effect, provides legal impunity for all offences, which their oppressors may commit against them, not even murder excepted;—I say, I need not consume any time to show, that such a system is wicked, awfully wicked. If it be not wicked—if a system, which directly and indirectly, violates nearly or quite all the commandments in the decalogue, be not wicked, then we know not what is.

I am happy to admit, that the administration of the system is not so bad as the system itself. It is honorable to human nature, that, when a peculiarly atrocious and wicked system is devised for a community, that community is not always willing to carry it entirely out.

Great and glaring, however, as is the wickedness of Southern slavery, we are, nevertheless, continually met with the remonstrance, that the North has nothing to do with it. How frequently is it asserted, not only at the South, but at the North, that the North has nothing to do with the subject of Southern slavery. But, why has the North nothing to do with it? Because, say the objectors: "you have miserable objects enough about you all over the free States—on which to exercise your compassions; and, because it is useless and quixotic to let your sympathies travel off hundreds and thousands of miles in quest of objects of wretchedness."

But, are all consistent with themselves, who hold this language? Did none of them allow themselves to feel, when the poor Greek sent out his loud cry over the civilized world for help to break off the Turkish yoke? Did none of them contribute to swell the large stream of honorable liberality, which America then poured out on suffering Greece? a stream which supplied the naked with clothing, and the hungry with food. Did none of them remember the oppressed Pole, and join with their countrymen in ministering to his relief? Did none of them sympathize with the inhabitants of the Cape De Verd Islands, when, a few years ago, they were reduced to famine, and American charity sent them ship loads of food? And yet the Greeks, and the Poles, and the Cape De Verd Islands, are thousands of miles off.

But, again, do none of those, who object to our suffering our compassions to stray so far as into the Southern States, aid in the Foreign Missionary enterprise? Are none of them enlisted in the blessed work of lifting up the wretched Hindoo and Burman, and Sandwich Islander out of their deep degradation; and of turning them from their idols to serve the living God. But, how much more remote are these objects of their charity than are the Southern slaves!

The great distance of the slaves from us cannot then be the real objection to our interesting our hearts in their condition: for such an objection is never raised to our sympathizing with those who are far more remote from us. Besides, if the objection were put forth in earnest, there would be no force in it with the christian mind. If the Savior bid us go into all the world with the blessings

and benefits of the gospel, then it is manifestly our duty to let our sympathies take as wide a range. And when He bids us love our neighbor as ourselves, He also gives us the large and gospel definition of the word "neighbor;" and makes it include every fellow being, to whom we can do good. And what man, I ask, is so remote from us, and so disconnected with us, that we cannot do him good—if not in person, yet in the benevolent purposes of our hearts—or, at least, in our prayers? I am aware, that, when we look out upon the mutual alienation and estrangement of the members of the human family, it is not always easy to conceive, that God intended them all to be "neighbors" to each other, in this highest, best sense of the word. But we must remember, that this alienation and estrangement are the fruit of sin; and, that it is sin which, in respect to this countless multitude, has, in the words of the poet, made "enemies of those, who else like kindred drops, had mingled into one."

But, there is another objection to our sympathy with the Southern slaves. We are united by a political compact with the states in which these slaves mostly dwell; and this compact, it is said, forbids our meddling with the subject of slavery. Now, we deny that it does so. We have just the same right to exert a moral power against slavery, which we had before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the formation of the Federal Government. The fact, that the Constitution does not clothe us with *political* power to abolish slavery is no more a reason why we may not exert a *moral* power to this end, than is the silence of that instrument respecting intemperance, a reason why we may not labor, by moral suasion, to suppress that vice.

The liberty for one state to employ political power against the institution of slavery in another did not exist before, nor has it existed since, the formation of the Federal Government. To attempt so to employ it now would be the most unwarrantable interference. Such interference the abolitionists have not attempted; do not now attempt; and utterly disclaim their right to: and all, therefore, that is said to the contrary, come it from high places or low—from governors and legislatures—or from the ignorant and vile—is utterly false and slanderous.

There are some persons, who, in their great anxiety to make the right of Southern slaveholding unquestionable, trace this right to the Federal Constitution. Mr. Calhoun and other Southern statesmen, who have his views of the doctrine of state sovereignty, are too discerning to feel indebted to these persons. These statesmen will not admit that the authority of the Federal Government was necessary either to create or secure this right. For, in admitting this much, they would impliedly admit, that the Federal Government has still some power over this right; some power to *revoke* perhaps, as well as to *confirm* it. These statesmen will continue, and justly too, to look far back of the Federal Government for their right to hold slaves. This right the old slave states had perfectly, in a political point of view, before that government was created; and they have it still: and the new slave states claim, as confidently as the old, the derivation of this right from state sovereignty.

But to return to my denial, that the Constitution of our common country restrains the exertion of moral influence on this subject. It does not restrain

it. It attempts no such hindrance of the exercise of our natural rights, and of the performance of their co-relative duties. And, if it did ; if it did attempt to limit our sympathies for our fellow men by state lines ; and to prescribe for whose welfare we might employ the spirit of prayer, and the lips, and pen of persuasion, and for whose not : if it were guilty of this wicked violation of God's plan, and of this daring usurpation of God's power—who, that has the heart of a man and of a Christian, would respect such an instrument ? But, thanks to God and to the wise and good men who framed this Constitution, it offers no obstacles to the work of the abolitionists, but secures to them just what they need, and, with the blessing of Heaven, all that they need, to make that work successful—that is, freedom of speech and of the press.

But when we have shown the fallacy of these objections, our opponents are, perhaps, honest enough to tell us another objection they have to our interesting ourselves and others in the subject of Southern slavery. It is this—the slaves are black, and, moreover, they are slaves ; and they are, therefore, unworthy of our concern. This is it : because the Southern slave is degraded by the wrongs heaped upon him, in making and continuing him a slave ; and because degrading associations have long clustered around his sable complexion, on account of the enslavement of Africans for centuries ; and, so far as Christian nations have had a part in it, of Africans only ; because of this, it is, that we may not care for him. But admit, if you please, the vileness of the slave—even all that is imputed to him : and, if you please, lay the blame of all this vileness to himself, instead of his oppressor : and what then ? shall we cast him away, and exclude him from the pale of our sympathies ? No—oh no ! for he is still a man—a brother man—made in God's image—and the blood of Calvary shed for his redemption.—“ God made of one blood all the nations that dwell on all the face of the earth.” We cannot bear true love to God, so long as we despise His image in man—so long as we turn our backs on the meanest, humblest man. Indeed, it is such a man, who is, in an important sense, by our Savior's own declaration, his representative on the earth ; and inasmuch as we show mercy or cruelty to this least one, so do we show mercy or cruelty to Christ himself.

One object of the Divine mind, in appointing the great diversities in human condition, was, no doubt, to furnish another test of this love to God, and another occasion for its exercise and development. It is easy for us to love those whose persons and characters and circumstances are all suited to win our love. But this is not enough. God requires that our hearts go out to our fellow man even when he presents himself to us in a character and in circumstances the most loathsome and repulsive. When, for instance, we witness the disgusting spectacle of the reeling, blaspheming drunkard, we are to remember the dignity of his immortal nature : our compassion is to overcome our disgust : we are to love him and do him good : not to shrink from taking him by the hand, and ministering to him advice and consolation : nor from taxing our self denial for his sake—even though it should be to the giving up of our glass of wine, and, thus

far, of our fashionableness. So when we look upon the poor slave—degraded, down-trodden, and brutified as he is, we are still to see in him our fellow man—one who is entitled to our sympathies, our prayers, and our beneficence. This is our doctrine, and it is in harmony with God's plan; that wherever there is a man, be he vile or honorable, bond or free, black or white, there is a being with claims on our fraternal regard, which we must not disown, but to which we must be prompt to respond. Besides, such are the fluctuations of life, and of such precarious tenure are its riches and honors, and blessings, that even those of us who are now the greatest favorites of providence, and whose allotments are now the happiest, are personally interested to have this doctrine of the inalienable and indestructible dignity of man maintained.

There is another objection taken to our caring for the Southern slave. It is said, that the South will withdraw her trade from the North, and cease to contribute to our enrichment, unless we check our sympathy for her slaves. We reply, that although not insensible to the gain of dollars and cents, godliness is far greater gain: and that the doing of God's will is more gainful than is any disobedience of it, to which avarice may tempt us.

Another objection is—if the north persists in manifesting an interest in the southern slaves, the south will not give her votes to northern candidates for political offices. Our reply is, that much as it might please us to see our next President and Vice President taken from the north, and to have the south vote for our Van Buren, or Webster, or Harrison, or Grange—still, if we can be gratified—if we can get southern votes at no less expense than by hardening our hearts against the poor slave, and by ceasing to obey God, and to speak for the dumb, and to plead the cause of the needy—then let southern men only fill our highest offices. No commercial—no political gain would justify us in God's sight, or in our own sight, for the gross inhumanity of deliberately turning our backs on more than two millions of our fellow men; and leaving them, for aught of our concern in their behalf, to suffer whatever of wrong and outrage might be devised against them.

Another objection to our efforts for abolishing slavery is, that they make the condition of the slave worse than it was before. As Pharaoh, the more he was admonished to let them go, hardened his heart the more against his slaves, so it is not improbable that such of the southern slaveholders, as have the Pharaoh spirit (I am far from charging this spirit upon them all) are increasing in their severity towards their slaves. If they are, it is their own sin, and God will judge them for it, unless they repent.

There is another objection to our cherishing an interest in the southern slaves. It is in the form of an inquiry. What will that interest effect? What good will it do? I answer, that good is done, if we do but remember them, and give them a place in our minds. Said Paul, whilst in chains at Rome, to them, who were as far from him as the slaves are from us: "Remember my bonds." And, if that great apostle, with all his resource of alleviation and comfort in his cultivated mind and heaven-stored heart, still felt the need under the grievousness of his chains, that his brethren should remember his trials and sympathise with him—how much more does the poor enslaved negro stand in need of our remembrance and sympathy? Said the same apostle: "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." This remembrance, to be most profitable, must, doubtless,

be a pious and prayerful remembrance;—and when this is its character, it does not fail of being profitable. When the hundreds of thousands of christians at the north have measured and dwelt upon the woes of the southern slaves, until they are “as bound with them:” and when, day and night they shall be telling of those woes in the ear of God:—if, when this has come to pass, it be still found that the north can do nothing towards abolishing slavery, then will we admit that we have overrated the power of prayer, and that the Lord’s ear has become heavy, that he cannot hear.

Another benefit which will result from our taking an interest in southern slavery, and acquiring an understanding of its character, is that we shall thence be both disposed and qualified to set the truth in relation to it before our southern brethren.

But, it is said, that the south is so determined to cling to slavery, that she will not be moved by any, even the most vivid, and powerful, and melting exhibitions of the truth respecting it. I think better of the south than to believe this. I think better of human nature than to believe it. Man is made to be moved by the truth. His conscience, his hand, his heart, his whole moral constitution, are made to respond to the truth; and the principal reason why the conquests of truth are so slow in this world, is, that the friends of truth are not more faithful to hold it up patiently, perseveringly, fully. Now, on the subject of slavery, the South has not only lulled, and debased, and hardened herself with falsehood, but the North has sanctioned and given efficacy to that falsehood. Until recently, our northern press and literature, if they have not positively favored slavery, have, at least, winked at its abominations. But, within the last two or three years, many northern pens have been employed to spread out the truth on this subject, before southern eyes, and upon southern consciences; and the effect already, is as if the sleep of death were breaking up. Let this pouring in of the light be continued. As sure as man was made by God, and was, therefore, made to answer to the truth, this light will have its blessed effect. Hi herto, when our southern brethren have come to the north, they have met with about as little sense of the wickedness of slavery as they left behind them.—Henceforth let it be different. Let them witness our strong abhorrence of it, and let there be nothing from our lips or in our practices to soothe their consciences. Especially let them see us treating the colored man, as a man. Let them see us treating him, not according to the hue of his skin, but according to his intellectual and moral worth. Let us, in a word, hold up the truth to them, and not connive at their delusions. In all ways in which the north can bear her testimony against slavery, she can do good; and these ways are numberless.

Another reason for our interesting ourselves on the subject of Southern slavery is, that, until this slavery ceases—this enslaving of a man simply because he has African blood in his veins—the free colored population of this country will not be able to exchange their present debasing mockery of freedom for freedom itself. The free colored man in our country is, because of the color which his God gave him, an outcast from the public respect and sympathy; and, by the laws of some of our states, he is liable, simply because of that color, to be arrested and sold into perpetual slavery. A citizen of Connecticut, visiting South Carolina, is in danger, on the bare

suspicion of his having African blood in his veins, of losing his liberty for ever. Nor are the laws which authorize this outrage on human rights, a dead letter. There is found to be cruelty enough to enforce as well as to enact them. Whilst millions of men in this nation continue to be enslaved because of their color, it is not to be wondered at, if others who are so unhappy as to have that color, are, and remain, depressed in their character and condition. If, for instance, all persons in the Southern states born with red hair, were, because of the color of their hair, to be enslaved, (and this would be no more absurd than is the enslaving of men for the color of their skin,) what a calamity it would justly be deemed to be born even in the Northern states with such hair ! If the sentiment of the South were, that men of red hair were fit only to be slaves, how natural that a similar sentiment should exist at the North also ! and how crushing would be the prevalence of this abominable sentiment upon persons of such hair amongst ourselves !

Another reason why we should interest ourselves to procure the abolition of slavery, is, (to say nothing of our liabilities in the case of a servile insurrection,) that, so long as it exists, and the provision in the federal Constitution, respecting the restoration of fugitives held to labor, remains—and I see not how it can be dispensed with—so long will the people of the free states be under a solemn, (I do not say paramount,) but nevertheless a solemn obligation to perform acts in the face of their consciences, and humanity, and religion.

Another reason why we must interest our minds in the Southern slavery, and “cry aloud” concerning this giant wickedness, is, that future emigrants from the North to the South may entertain such a just sense of the system, that they will not be guilty, like their predecessors, of contributing to uphold it.

I perceive, sir, that the portion of your time I was expected to occupy is nearly spent, and I will detain you with but one more reason why we must oppose Southern slavery. We must oppose it in self-defence ; for if it be not overthrown, and speedily too, it will supplant the liberty of the North. The antagonist principles of liberty and slavery cannot be peaceable neighbors. The one will be making aggressions on the other : and, unless the pure, and peaceable, and merciful principles of the Abolitionists soon overspread the South, the odious doctrines inculcated by Governor McDuffie, Senator Leigh, Mr. Pickens, and other Southern statesmen, will have obtained at the North, and effectually prepared the way for reducing Northern laborers to a herd of slaves.

For some centuries, Christian nations have been enslaving men because of the dark complexion which God gave them. Let not the whites flatter themselves that this will long continue to be the ground of enslavement. The world is fast coming to see, and to revolt at its absurdity. Even Southern statesmen are ceasing to justify the enslaving of men for their

color; and, instead thereof, they are now contending for the enslavement of the laboring classes, irrespective of complexion. They have the effrontery to recommend to the aristocrats of the North to put the yoke of slavery on the necks of our farmers and mechanics. Nor have I any better opinion of those purse-proud and haughty men amongst us, who are displaying their pro-slavery spirit, than to believe that they would welcome the conversion of our independent Northern laborers into abject slaves. The time is already at hand, sir, when, unless the yeomanry of the North harness themselves for the great battle we are called to fight against slavery, they will witness mighty efforts to bring themselves under the same yoke with the laborers of the South. It is a manifest doctrine of slavery, that labor becomes the slave only. Closely connected with this, is the doctrine that the laborer is fit only to be a slave.

To conclude, sir, after this long trespass on your patience:—let me say, that we have fallen upon strange times.

Two hundred years ago, our fathers began to build on these shores an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted friends of liberty. This beautiful and blessed work of their prayers, and courage, and sacrifices, has come down to their sons of this age, challenging their admiration, and love, and protection. But they are degenerate sons; and, instead of prizing, and preserving, and laboring to perpetuate this glorious work, their parricidal and vandal hands are busy in marring and destroying it. It may emphatically be said of liberty, in the Savior's words, that her "enemies are they of her own household." She is stricken down and bleeding in her own temple—"in the house of her friends." To speak literally, and as truly as literally, there is no part of the world where liberty has so injurious and dangerous enemies as are to be found in every part of our own country; and, what makes her enemies here the more to be dreaded, is, that they are in the guise of her most devoted friends. It is easier and safer, sir, to proclaim her principles in any other part of the world—even amidst the most rigorous despotisms of the Eastern continent—than in a large portion of our own country. In one half of this nation, we cannot, but at the imminent peril of our lives, attempt to publish that great fundamental truth, "that all men are created free and equal." And even in the other half, there is a settled public opinion, frequently backed by violence, against the promulgation of it.

What a sad change in the last fifty years! Had there been, fifty years ago, a condition of residence imposed upon the emigrant to our country, and on the traveller also a condition for the privilege of travelling from one part of it to another—it would, probably, have been that the new resident and the traveller be ever faithful to maintain the great principles of liberty.—But were a condition to be imposed now in similar cases, it would probably be that the new resident and that the traveller observe perfect silence—the silence of the grave—respecting those principles: or, even worse, that they

ridicule and revile them, and improve every opportunity to bring them into contempt.

The spirit of true liberty, sir, and, by this, I mean, a just regard for the sacred rights of man, of whatever clime or complexion—had well nigh fled from us. Let us be thankful that, whilst the multitude, including, I must confess, my humble self, were yet asleep to our danger, you and a few others, whose names will never perish from the remembrance of the friends of liberty and humanity, awoke to it. It may not be too late for the toils of the philanthropist and the prayers of the Christian, to recal that spirit in all the power with which it animated our virtuous ancestors. Let us not cease from these toils and prayers, until liberty shall have regained her place in the hearts of our countrymen, or until our efforts are stayed, and our voices stilled, and our hopes quenched, in the final and fatal triumphs of slavery.

ALVAN STEWART, Esq., of Utica, begged leave, which was granted, to relate a single anecdote.

In Georgia, said Mr. S., about three years ago, there lived a man, black but noble, a giant in strength, and in form an Apollo Belvidere, about 35 years of age, a slave, with a wife and four children, also slaves. The love of liberty burned irrepressible in his bosom, and he determined to escape, and free his wife and children at all hazard. He had heard of Canada, as a place where the laws made every man free, and protected him in his freedom. But of its situation, or the road thither, or the geography of the intermediate country, he knew nothing. A Quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a wagon by night. In the day time they lay concealed in the woods, and on the second night the same man carried them fifty miles further. At the end of the second night, he told the black man that he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry, but, taking him by the hand, he committed him to God and the north star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and after skulking in the day and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river, (the Savannah) of whose existence he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two young children on his back, and between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered through the states of South and North Carolina and Virginia, crossed Pennsylvania without even knowing that it was the land of the Quakers; and finally, after six weeks of toil and hardship, he reached Buffalo. Here he placed his wife and children in the custody of a tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood, for the poor man will always be the poor man's friend, and the oppressed will stand by the oppressed. The man proceeded to town, and as he was passing through the streets, he attracted the notice of a colored

barber, also a man of great bodily power. The barber stepped up to him, put his hand on his shoulder, and said, "I know you are a runaway slave, but never fear, I am your friend." The man confessed he was from Georgia, when the barber said, "Your master inquired about you to-day, in my shop, but do not fear, I have a friend who keeps a livery stable, and will give us a carriage as soon as night comes, to carry your family beyond the reach of a master."

As the ferry boat does not run across the Niagara river in the night, by day break they were at the ferryhouse, and rallied the ferryman to carry them to the Canada shore. They hastened to the boat, and just as they were about to let go, the master was seen, on his foaming horse, with pistol in hand, calling out to the ferryman to stop and set those people ashore or he would blow his brains out. The stout barber, quick as thought, said to the ferryman, "If you don't put off this instant, I'll be the death of you." The ferryman, thus threatened on both sides, lifted up his hands, and cried, "The Lord have mercy on me! It seems I am to be killed any how; but if I do die, I will die doing right," and CUT THE ROPE.

The powerful current of the Niagara swept the boat rapidly into deep water, beyond the reach of tyranny. The workmen at work on the steamboat Henry Clay, near by, almost involuntarily gave three cheers for liberty. As the boat darted into the deep and rapid stream, the people on the Canada side, who had seen the occurrence, cheered her course, and in a few moments the broad current was passed, and the man with his wife and children, were all safe on British soil, protected by British laws!!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, HELD AT CLINTON HALL, IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 10TH, 1836.

IN the absence of the President, Rev. BERAH GREEN, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair, at 4 o'clock P.M., and James F. Robinson of New-York, Henry B. Stanton of Ohio, Orson S. Murray of Vermont, and Lewis C. Gunn of Pennsylvania, were appointed Assistant Secretaries. Prayer was offered by Rev. Nathaniel Colver.

The following gentlemen were then enrolled as delegates from auxiliary societies, or took their seats as members.

ROLL OF DELEGATES AND MEMBERS.

MAINE.

State Society.—Joseph C. Lovejoy, Oldtown; S. L. Pomeroy, Bangor; Geo.

E. Adams, Brunswick; Burleigh Smart, Kennebunk; Nathan Winslow, Portland; S. W. Chase, Portland; David Dunlap, Brunswick; James Appleton, Portland.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

State Society.—Joseph Horace Kimball, Concord; Albe Cady, Concord; Kendall O. Peabody, Franklin.

Dartmouth College Society.—R. N. Wright, Hanover.

VERMONT.

State Society.—B. F. Haskell, Cornwall; J. W. Hale, Brandon; O. S. Murray, Brandon; David Foot, Middlebury; Stephen Hinsdill, Bennington; C. Wicker, Cornwall.

Johnson Society.—David Boynton, Johnson.

Members not representing any Society.—Wm. F. Manley, Brandon; M. M. Dean, Monkton; Warham Walker, Shaftsbury.

MASSACHUSETTS.

State Society.—Joseph Southwick, Sylvanus Brown, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, Henry C. Wright, Wm. S. Porter, and Nathaniel Southard, Boston.

Barnstable and Harwich Society.—Seth Ewer, West Harwich.

Essex County, and Salem and Vicinity Societies.—Abner Sanger and Isaac Winslow, Danvers; R. P. Waters, Salem.

Holden Society.—Seth White and Charles White, Holden.

Hebronville Society.—Charles Simmons, Hebronville.

Lynn Society.—Thos. H. Atwill, Lynn.

Williams' College Society.—William Hopkins, Williamstown.

Newburyport Society.—Nathan Haskell and Atkins Stanwood, Newburyport.

Members not representing any Society.—Otis Thompson, Rehoboth; E. C. Pritchett, Amherst; Phineas Field, Shelburn Falls; Tyler Thacher, Hawley; Giles Pease, Lowell; Elbridge G. Howe, Bridgewater; J. H. Lawton, Pittsfield; Joseph A. Whitemarsh, Boston.

RHODE ISLAND.

State Society.—William Buffum, Smithfield; Thomas Davis, Wm. Drown, Josiah Cady, John Prentice, and Gilbert Richmond, Providence; Henry Marchant, Ray Potter, and Wm. Adams, Pawtucket; Thomas Williams, Barrington; Benjamin R. Allen and Otis Potter, North Scituate.

Providence Society.—Wm. Goodell, Wm. M. Chace, Benjamin F. Stead, and George R. Haswell, Providence.

Pawtucket Society.—Stephen Benedict and Rufus Bliss, Pawtucket.

Member not representing any Society, Nathan W. Williams, Providence.

CONNECTICUT.

Windham Co. Society.—Geo. Sharpe, Abington, and Charles C. Burleigh, Plainfield.

Middletown Society.—J. G. Baldwin, Middletown.

Deep River Society.—Henry Wooster and Darius Mead, Deep River.

Members not representing any Society.—Wm. H. Coit, Norwich; John Turner, Weston; Isaac Jennings, Derby; Edward R. Tyler, Colebrook.

NEW-YORK.

State Society.—Alvan Stewart, Utica; L. H. Loss, New-York Mills; Gerrit Smith, Peterboro; Beriah Green, Whitesboro; Geo. A. Avery and O. N. Bush, Rochester; Nathaniel Colver, Greenwich.

New-York City Society.—James H. Barker, J. W. Higgins, and James S. Gibbons.

Genesee County Society.—J. B. Halsted, Castile; R. W. Lyman, Arcade.

Monroe County Society.—Elon Galusha, Rochester; Richard De Forest, Riga.

Oneida Institute Society.—Amasa Frissell and Wm. H. Chandler, Whitesboro.

Smithfield and Vicinity Society.—Asa Raymond, Peterboro.

Catskill Society.—Samuel Wilson, John Doane, F. N. Wilson, and Robert Jackson, Catskill.

New-York City Young Men's Society.—Roe Lockwood, J. F. Robinson, J. H. Parker, A. O. Peloubet, R. G. Williams, E. A. Lambert, F. A. Liboldt, John Jay, H. D. Sharpe, and Jeremiah Wilbur, New-York.

Mt. Morris Society.—Wheeler Hinman, Mt. Morris.

Poughkeepsie Society.—Thomas Austin, Charles Thompson, Robert Laird, and Jared Gray, Poughkeepsie.

Sandlake Society.—Uriah M. Gregory, John D. Sawyer, and Philip Wieting.

Troy Society.—Gurdon Grant, John Gray, Richard J. Knowlson, Samuel H. Merrill, Thos. J. Haswell, Edwin E. Wells, and William Yates.

Greenwich Society.—Abel Wilder, Charles Coolidge, and Wendell Lansing, Greenwich.

Jay Society.—Philander Barbour, Jay.

Albany Society.—E. N. Kirk, Otis Allen, William Crasso, Charles E. West, Joseph Kirk, and Geo. Freeman, Albany.

Members, not representing any Society.—Edward M. Moore, Rochester; Duncan Dunbar, Octavius Winslow, John Rankin, Baxter Sayre, Robert Brown, H. G. Ludlow, E. Wright, Jun., S. S. Jocelyn, Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, Theodore S. Wright, Samuel E. Cornish, George Bourne, Thomas Van Rensselaer, Amos A. Phelps, Abraham L. Cox, Andrew Bruce, R. A. Fairbank, La Roy Sunderland, and Edward Wheeler, New-York City; William Jay, Bedford; A. M. Heacock, Buffalo; Henry D. Humphrey, Hudson; Richard P. G. Wright, Schenectady; Charles J. Knowles, Belpoit; Parshall Terry, Patchogue; Samuel T. Spear and Emerson Andrews, Lansingburgh; Clark Lockwood, Malta; Jacob Y. Sinderling, Brunswick; Nathaniel Post, Newport; Thomas Powell, Milton; Wells S. Hammond, Albany; James H. Rogers, Mount Morris; Stephen S. Smith and Carlos Smith, Manlius; Henry Bradley, Penn Yan; J. Woodward, Cazenovia; J. S. Lambright, Perry; Talcott Howard Wyoming; M. E. Lasher, Fulton;

Henry Barber, Cold Spring; M. P. Hadley, West Troy; S. S. Wells, Kingston.

NEW JERSEY.

Newark Society.—Alexander N. Dougherty, Wm. R. Weeks and J. M. Ward, Newark.

Boonton Falls Society.—Wm. H. Grimes and Geo. W. Esten, Parsipany.

Members, not representing any Society.—Caleb Abbott and Charles Anderson, Newark; George Hall, Madison.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia Society.—Robert Purvis, Henry Grew, and Thomas Shipley, Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Young Men's Society.—Lewis C. Gunn, Wm. H. Scott, Geo. H. Stuart, Robert B. Forten, and Daniel Neal, jun. Philadelphia.

East Fallowfield Society.—Wm. P. Fulton and James Fulton, East Fallowfield.

Honesdale Society.—Alfred Ketchum, Bethany.

Susquehanna County Society.—A. Miller, Harford.

Pittsburgh Society.—Benjamin Bown, Pittsburgh.

Harrisburgh Society.—Nathan Stem, Harrisburgh.

Members, not representing any Society.—Aaron Kellogg, Erie; R. W. Griswold, J. Prosser, and D. Hall, jun., Philadelphia.

OHIO.

State Society.—G. Buckingham, Mansfield; Wm. T. Allan, Oberlin; Edward Weed and Dyer Burgess, West Union.

Members, not representing any Society.—George Whipple, Oberlin; Henry B. Stanton.

ENGLAND.

Charles Stuart.

UPPER CANADA.

J. W. Goodell, Smithville.

The Society then proceeded to the appointment of officers, when the following gentlemen were chosen :

PRESIDENT,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Maine.

GEORGE STORRS, New Hampshire.

ROWLAND T. ROBINSON, Vermont.

CHARLES FOLLEN, Massachusetts.

JOHN BLAIN, Rhode Island.

ELI IVES,
GEORGE BENSON, } Connecticut.

BERIAH GREEN,
GERRIT SMITH, } New York.

WM. R. WEEKS, New Jersey.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, Pennsylvania.

WM. GIBBONS, Delaware.

JOHN NEEDLES, Maryland.

JOSEPH JANNEY, District of Columbia.

SAMUEL CROTHERS,
JAMES G. BIRNEY, } Ohio.

PROF. JAMES M. BUCHANAN, Kentucky.

NATHANIEL FIELD, Indiana.

DAVID NELSON, Missouri.

WILLIAM JAY, *Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.*

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR. *Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.*

AMOS A. PHELPS, *Recording Secretary.*

JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer.*

MANAGERS.

MAINE.

WILLIAM SMITH,
SWAN L. POMROY,
DAVID THURSTON,
CALVIN NEWTON,
GEORGE SHEPHERD,
RICHARD H. VOSE,
NATHAN WINSLOW,

JAMES BALLARD,
J. P. MILLER,
JAMES MILLIGAN,
OLIVER J. ELLIS,
AGUSTINE CLARK,
ELISHA BASCOM,
ORSON S. MURRAY.

MASSACHUSETTS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
ISAAC KNAPP,
MOSES THACHER,
JOHN G. WHITTIER,
JACOB IDE,
GEORGE B. CHEEVER,
PHILEMON R. RUSSELL,
DAVID T. KIMBALL,
CHARLES SEWALL,
THOMAS SPENCER,

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DAVID ROOT,
CALVIN CUTLER,
NATHANIEL P. RUSSELL,
GEORGE W. WARD,
AMOS CAMBELL,
DANIEL HOIT.

VERMONT.

ASA ALDIS,

WILLIAM B. DODGE,
WILLIAM OAKES,
BENJAMIN PORTER,
INGALLS KITTREDGE,
MOSES PETTENGILL,
CHARLES WHIPPLE.

RHODE ISLAND.

JOSIAH CADY,
HENRY CUSHING,
JOHN PRENTICE,
GEORGE W. BENSON,
RAY POTTER,
JOHN G. CLARK,
JOHN JENCKES,
JAMES EAMES.

CONNECTICUT.

J. E. P. DEAN,
A. M. COLLINS,
ALPHEUS KINGSLEY,
S. J. MAY,
CHARLES B. LINES,
GEORGE READ,
REUBEN ROCKWELL,
GEORGE SHARP.

NEW-YORK.

SAMUEL PHOENIX,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,
WILLIAM GREEN, JUN.
ISRAEL SMITH,
JOHN P. CUSHMAN,
JOHN DICKSON,
H. G. LUDLOW,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
WILLIAM GOODSELL,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
GEORGE BOURNE,
CHARLES W. DENISON,
SAMUEL E. CORNISH,
JONATHAN MIDDLETON,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
W. W. REID,
RICHARD P. G. WRIGHT,
THOMAS DOWLING,
CHARLES MARROTT,
ELON GALUSHA,
E. M. ADAMS,
LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

NEW JERSEY.

PETER KANOUSE,

JAMES WHITE,
JAMES PARKHURST,
JOHN GRIMES,
JAMES COOK.

PENNSYLVANIA.

JAMES FORTEN, SEN.
ARNOLD BUFFUM,
JOHN W. NEVIN,
EDWIN P. ATLEE,
THOMAS SHIPLEY,
ROBERT PURVIS,
JOSEPH CASSEY,
ISAAC PARRISH,
JOSHUA COFFIN,
JAMES M. MCCRUMMELL,
SAMUEL WILLIAMS,
JOHN B. VASHON,
BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL,
ENOCH MACK,
THOMAS WHITSON,
ABRAHAM D. SHAD,
LINDLEY COATES,
HARVEY NEWCOMB,
J. T. GAZZAM.

OHIO.

ROBERT STEWART,
JOHN RANKIN,
ASA DRURY,
O. K. HAWLEY,
HENRY COWLES,
JOHN M. STERLING,
WOOLSEY WELLS,
H. C. HOWELL,
JOHN M. MONTEITH,
JAMES H. DICKEY.

KENTUCKY.

LUKE MUNSELL,
JAMES A. THOME.

ALABAMA.

WILLIAM T. ALLAN.

MISSOURI.

JOB F. HALSEY.

MICHIGAN.

EROTAS P. HASTINGS.

On motion of Alvan Stewart,

1. *Resolved*, That each Anti-Slavery Society, which shall send delegates to the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, or be auxiliary thereto, be requested to make a full report of its origin, progress, numbers, and of the means employed in the way of agents, printed documents, &c., for the advancement of the great cause of human freedom in the United States; and that such report be ample as to the occurrences between the anniversaries of the parent Society in 1835 and 1836; and that each society make an annual report after 1837, so that all the particular and general statistics of the reformation may be preserved for the instruction and encouragement of coming times.

2. *Resolved*, That it is desirable that all Anti-Slavery Societies and agents should frequently circulate the Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society of the place for signatures.

3. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to all friends of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to district the towns and counties in which they reside, and cause faithful agents to circulate petitions for the abolition of slavery in that District, to be presented to every man and woman who has arrived at the age of majority in said town and county, and that the labor of obtaining the names be commenced *this summer*, and that the petitions be prepared to be presented at the next session of Congress.

The Society then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 11.

The Society met by adjournment at 9 o'clock, in the Presbyterian Church, corner of Thompson and Houston streets, Josiah Cady, of Providence, in the chair. Elder Ray Potter opened the meeting with prayer.

The resolution to raise fifty thousand dollars for the operations of this society the present year, was called up, and pledges made to the amount of \$21,000.

The committee on the relations existing between the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies presented the following report, which was adopted:

"The committee appointed to confer with the committee of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, with reference to the relation between that auxiliary and the Parent Society, have considered the subject and make the following report:

"First, That the Parent Society relinquish its claim for certain sums pledged to it, and paid into the treasury of the Massachusetts Society under a belief, on the part of the pledgers, that they redeemed their pledges by making payment to the auxiliary, on condition that the Massachusetts Society pay the agents, &c., who have labored in the cause in that state, to the amount of the sums received by them as above-mentioned. And,

"Second, That in future all sums collected by the agents of the National Society in Massachusetts, or pledged to that society by residents in that state, be paid into the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it being understood that the National Society will defray the expense of agents in Massachusetts the same as in other states.

Respectfully submitted,

LEWIS TAPPAN,
NATHANIEL COLVER,
JOHN RANKIN,

SAMUEL J. MAY,
HENRY C. WRIGHT,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON."

New-York, May 11, 1836.

The Treasurer read his report which, being duly audited, was accepted.

On motion, adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning, at the same place.

THURSDAY MORNING, May 12.

The society met pursuant to adjournment. James Appleton, of Portland, Me., in the chair. Rev. Charles Stuart opened the meeting with prayer.

On motion of Gerrit Smith, Esq.,

Resolved, That this Society earnestly and affectionately invites its members, and the members of its auxiliaries, diligently and prayerfully to examine the question, whether they can innocently make an ordinary use, or be concerned in the traffic of the productions of slave labor.

On motion of Robert Purvis,

Resolved, That we regard the remarkable and happy results of the experiment of Immediate Emancipation in those West India islands, whose colonial legislatures rejected the system of apprenticeship as signal evidence of God's approbation of the measure, and as conclusive proof of the safety and policy of such emancipation.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison,

Resolved, That in the name and on behalf of more than two millions of helpless, crushed, and guiltless slaves in this, to them, *land of religious despotism* and *home of republican injustice*, we honor and bless the philanthropists and Christians of Great Britain, for the noble example they have set in the emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the British colonies, and for their untiring, faithful, and Christian efforts to abolish slavery and the slave trade throughout the world.

Resolved, That the safe arrival in England of our indefatigable and eloquent coadjutor GEORGE THOMPSON, with his family, is matter of joyful thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed; that his generous and enthusiastic reception by the people of Great Britain is another proof of their growing regard for the cause of peaceful, righteous, and impartial liberty throughout the world, as well as a triumphant vindication of his character from the aspersions cast upon it by his enemies in this country.

On motion of Rev. Theodore S. Wright,

Resolved, That it be recommended to each of the Auxiliary Societies to appoint a standing committee on introducing our colored brethren to the useful arts, with instructions to ascertain the number of colored persons in their several districts, who are desirous of learning the useful arts, and especially those who are desirous of becoming regular apprentices to such mechanics as are willing to teach them trades, and treat them as they do their other apprentices.

Resolved, That the Auxiliary Societies be requested to report the statistics relating to those colored persons in their several localities, who are desirous of being introduced into the knowledge of the useful arts.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every auxiliary of this society to use strenuous efforts, in their respective vicinities, for the improvement of their colored fellow-citizens in literature, morals, and religion.

On motion of Rev. Samuel J. May,

Resolved, That each individual, who has made a pledge for himself or for any society, based upon any condition or conditions, be requested to state those conditions, in writing, signed by his name, and lodge the same with the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock, to-morrow morning, in Clinton Hall.

FRIDAY MORNING, May 13.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. Hon. James Appleton, of Portland, in the chair. Rev. H. C. Wright, of Boston, opened the meeting with prayer.

On motion of Thomas Shipley,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to forward to each Abolition or Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of its printed minutes, as early as practicable.

On motion, William Goodell, Edward Weed, H. B. Stanton, and Rev. Theodore S. Wright were appointed a committee to report resolutions on the subject of the education of the people of color. They reported the following, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of this Society, to employ an agent to superintend and urge forward the great work of elevating the pecuniary, social, intellectual, and moral condition of the free people of color.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of this Society to employ an agent or agents to investigate the actual condition of the colored people in the free states, with a view to ascertain and publish the facts in respect to their pecuniary, social, intellectual, moral, and religious condition.

On motion of Thomas Shipley,

Resolved, That, whatever differences of opinion may exist, in respect to the degree and kind of obligation resting on the people of the free states, under the Federal Constitution, to return fugitive slaves to their masters, there is no obligation imposed on the sovereign states to surrender, the liberties of citizens, without trial by jury.

On motion of James Appleton,

Resolved, That the common practice of apologizing for slavery, by comparing the free laborers of the North, with the slaves of the South, is fitted to create in the public mind, low and depreciating views of the value of civil liberty; and tends directly to reduce the one to the condition of the other, at the same time that it asserts what is as untrue in fact, as it is detestable in principle.

On motion of Rev. Charles Stuart,

Resolved, That we bless God for the co-operation of such of our beloved sisters as have united their labors with ours, and that we earnestly invite every lady in the land, who feels for female honor, for human happiness, and virtue and for God's holy law, to join her prayers and efforts with ours in behalf of the "suffering and the dumb."

Resolved, That the general conduct of our colored brethren, both enslaved and free, continues to command our cordial approbation, and enhances the duty and the privilege of pleading their cause.

On motion of S. S. Jocelyn,

Resolved, That the prejudice peculiar to our country, which subjects our colored brethren to a degrading distinction in our worshipping assemblies, which withholds from them that kind and courteous treatment to which, as well as other citizens, they have a right, at public houses, on board steamboats, in stages, and places of public concourse, is the very spirit of slavery, is nefarious and wicked, and should be practically reprobated and discountenanced.

On motion of Orson S. Murray,

Resolved, That every successive movement of the Colonization Society confirms our formerly expressed views, and increases our disapprobation of the whole scheme, as tending to perpetuate slavery; to crush the free colored population, both of the North and of the South; to afford facilities for the African slave-trade; and to reproach Christianity in the eyes of the native Africans.

On motion of William Goodell,

Resolved, That, while the signs of the times, in respect to the great interests of civil and religious freedom in our own age and nation, are such as impel us to watch with solicitude, to labor with patience, and to hope with trembling; yet the promises and predictions of God, in the Scriptures, afford a sufficient warrant for the confident assurance, that those great interests will ere long be secured in the universal prevalence of practical righteousness and holy liberty throughout the earth.

Resolved, That the increased attention to the Monthly Concert of prayer for the people of color, bond and free, in our land, is cause of devout gratitude to God, and that the friends of oppressed humanity be requested to continue their observance of that season—"Remembering them who are in bonds as bound with them."

On motion of Henry B. Stanton,

Resolved, That under God we rely mainly for the removal of slavery upon the faithful testimony of the Christian Church against it,—that we earnestly invite individual Christians and churches of all denominations immediately to petition their ecclesiastical judicatories and associations, to pass resolutions condemning slavery as a sin, and to take such other measures as are proper to effect its speedy removal. and that we recommend to the Executive Committee of this Society to address the Christians of the nation, and urge them to go forward in this work.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of this Society to employ two or more agents to visit the British West India Islands and Hayti, during the present year, to collect and transmit to this country facts from official and unofficial sources relative to the condition of the colored population of those islands, and the effect of the various systems of emancipation there adopted, upon the physical, agricultural, commercial, educational, and religious prosperity of the inhabitants.

On motion of Rev. H. C. Wright,

Resolved, That the admission of the Territory of Arkansas into the Union as a slave-holding state, would justly subject this nation afresh to the reprobation and abhorrence of mankind, and to the frowns and judgments of Almighty God : that it ought to be resisted by all who have hearts of flesh, as an impious attempt to extend and increase the horrors and heathenism of slavery and the slave-trade ; that we invoke Congress, by every consideration of humanity and justice to refuse its admission on such terms : and that we call upon the people of the land to sustain them in the discharge of this high duty to God, their country, and the world.

Resolved, That the unjust and unconstitutional imprisonment of Dr. Crandall in the District of Columbia, and the hardships to which he has been subjected, on the charge of being an abolitionist, demand of the whole people, without distinction of sect or party, a strong expression of reprobation, and a requisition that reparation be made him for the wrongs he has suffered.

On motion of Gerrit Smith, Esq.,

Resolved, That it is evident that the present struggle in Texas against the government of Mexico, is mainly for the extension and perpetuity of slavery, and therefore deserves the strongest reprobation of the friends of liberty and humanity ; and that we fully believe that the independence of Texas, or the acquisition of it by our government under these circumstances, would be mournfully disastrous to the cause of the colored race, of liberty, republicanism, and Christianity.

On motion,

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the Anti-Slavery Almanac, published by Nathaniel Southard of Boston, and earnestly recommend to all the friends of emancipation, to take immediate and efficient measures for its extensive circulation.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to publish five thousand copies of the Annual Report.

Elizur Wright, Jr., Charles, Stuart Alvan Stewart, Henry B. Stanton, George Bourne, L. H. Loss, Theodore S. Wright, and Beriah Green were appointed Delegates to the New England Convention.

After prayer by R. P. G. Wright, of Schenectady, the Society adjourned.

Attest,

JAMES F. ROBINSON,	} Assist. Secretaries.
HENRY B. STANTON,	
ORSON S. MURRAY,	
LEWIS C. GUNN,	

A. A. PHELPS, Recording Secretary.

PUBLISHING AGENT'S REPORT.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH THE PUBLISHING AGENT.

DR.

To Cash paid	Paper and Printing	Emancipator	-	-	\$3191	27
"	"	Human Rights	-	-	1342	76
"	"	Record	-	-	3620	19
"	"	Slave's Friend	-	-	1381	07
"	"	Quarterly Magazine	-	-	830	33
"	Books and Pamphlets, purchased and pub-					
	lished for sale	-	-	-	3746	59
"	Circulars, Petitions, and Prints	-	-	-	954	47
"	Weekly Emancipator	-	-	-	233	24
"	Designing and Engraving	-	-	-	332	50
"	Advertising in City Papers	-	-	-	141	93
"	Postage	-	-	-	336	99
"	Office Rent	-	-	-	354	00
"	Stoves for Office	-	-	-	23	75
"	Distributing Papers and Notices in City	-	-	-	24	37
"	Traveling Expenses of Agent	-	-	-	88	91
"	Book-Case, Tables, Stage for Ann. 1835	-	-	-	133	07
"	Assistance in Office	-	-	-	1090	13
"	Stationary, Lights, Fuel, Freight, Envelope					
	Paper and Incidentals	-	-	-	687	03
					\$18512	65
Balance due Amer. Anti-Slavery Society, as per cash book					145	10
					\$18657	75

CR.

By Balance in hand, May 1, 1835	-	-	-	-	315	90
Cash received on Emancipator Subscriptions	-	-	-	-	1480	13
" Human Rights	-	-	-	-	869	32
" Record	-	-	-	-	142	59
" Quarterly Magazine	-	-	-	-	618	22
" Publications sold	-	-	-	-	3467	32
" Monthly Subscriptions	-	-	-	-	1383	33
" of Treasurer (John Rankin)	-	-	-	-	10380	94
					\$18657	75

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent A. A. S. Society.

NEW-YORK, MAY 9, 1836.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH THE TREASURER.

DR.

To Balance per account rendered May 9th, 1835.	-	-	\$ 97 27
Cash paid Public Meetings	-	-	47 28
" Postage, Advertising, Discount, Interest, &c.	-	-	185 21
" Engravings	-	-	152 94
" Agents' and Secretaries' Expenses and Salaries	-	-	7539 49
" R. G. Williams, Publishing Agent	-	-	10880 94
			<u>\$18403 13</u>

CR.

By Cash received for Contributions from Maine	-	-	\$496 13
" New Hampshire	-	-	616 45
" Vermont	-	-	213 87
Massachusetts.			
City of Boston	-	-	1452 00
Other parts of the State	-	-	2514 96
			<u>3966 96</u>
" Rhode Island	-	-	393 50
" Connecticut	-	-	348 06
New York.			
City of New York	-	-	6775 58
Other parts of the State	-	-	2718 16
			<u>9493 74</u>
" New Jersey	-	-	325 75
Pennsylvania.			
City of Philadelphia	-	-	1157 00
Other parts of the State	-	-	195 85
			<u>1352 85</u>
" Ohio	-	-	615 18
" Sundry Receipts	-	-	82 90
By Balance due the Treasurer	-	-	497 74
			<u>\$18403 13</u>

To Balance due the Treasurer	-	-	\$497 74
The Amount of Disbursements by the Treasurer	-	-	\$ 8022 19
" do. by the Publishing Agent	-	-	18512 65
Total Disbursements	-	-	<u>\$26534 84</u>
The Amount of Receipts by the Treasurer for Donations	-	-	17905 39
" do. by the Publishing Agent for Publications	-	-	8276 81
Total Receipts	-	-	<u>\$26182 20</u>

JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer.*

NEW-YORK, MAY 9th, 1836,

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT.

IN presenting their Third Annual Report, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society are strongly reminded of their obligations to that Being who "stilleth the noise of the waves, and the tumult of the people." Through His overruling Providence, even the enemies of our righteous cause have been made greatly to promote it. The events of the past year, while they have demonstrated the necessity of our enterprise, have also given us a more assured hope of its accomplishment.

We have no adequate means of estimating the increase of avowed and thorough abolitionists during the year, much less the general change of public sentiment in favor of the slave; yet the limited returns of societies actually organized, may be instructive to those who have been, or professed to be, incredulous of the progress of the cause. 323 new societies have been formed since the last report. The whole number now known to the Committee, is 523, of these, only 254 have reported their number of members, making an aggregate of 27,182 members. From 74 societies, have been

received reports of their number of members at their respective dates of organization, from which it appears that these societies were organized with 2955 members, or an average of 40 members each, and have now increased to 9755, or an average of 130 members each.

AUXILIARIES.

State auxiliaries have been formed during the year in New-York and Rhode Island, which have entered very efficiently into the work. The State Auxiliary of Massachusetts, in point of age and fact the parent of all the Anti-Slavery Societies, has gone forward with its characteristic ardor and devotion, having expended during the past year not less than \$6000. That of Maine has resolved to raise \$2000 for the coming year, \$887 of which was subscribed at its anniversary. That of New Hampshire, which will hold its anniversary in June has expended liberally, and will not fall behind any of its sisters. That of Vermont has expended the present year \$464, and has voted to raise \$2000 for the coming year, \$675 of which was immediately subscribed. The Auxiliary of New-York, at its meeting in Peterboro, raised a subscription of \$1200 dollars. That of Rhode Island pledged itself to raise \$2000 for the first year, which was subscribed on the spot. The Ohio State Auxiliary, at its anniversary in Granville on the 27th ult., resolved to raise \$10,000, \$4,500 of which was subscribed on the spot. The State Society of Kentucky, has been prevented by the violence of slave-

holders from active exertions by agents or the press. But the press of Mr. Birney, now at Cincinnati, is perhaps acting not less efficiently upon that state, than if it were within its borders.

From the Reports of the Treasurer and Publishing Agent, it will appear that the total receipts of the American Anti-Slavery Society since the last Anniversary, have been \$25,866,30, being an increase of \$15,311,02 over the receipts of last year. With these funds, the Committee have been enabled to keep in the field a number of agents, and to publish and extensively diffuse a variety of anti-slavery periodicals, pamphlets, and larger works, viz.

PUBLICATIONS.

Published Monthly.	{ Human Rights, about	20,000	per month.	Total	240,000
	{ Anti-Slavery Record,	25,000	"	"	385,000
	{ Emancipator,	15,000	"	"	210,000
	{ Slave's Friend	15,000	"	"	205,000
Quarterly	Anti-Slavery Magazine,	-	-	-	5,500
Bound Volumes	{ Life of Granville Sharp,	-	-	2,000	
	{ Anti-Slavery Record, vol. 1.	-	-	1,000	
	{ Mrs. Child's Appeal,	-	-	1,000	
	{ Slave's Friend, vol. 1.	-	-	1,000	
					5,000
Occasional Pamphlets,					8,500
Circulars, Prints, &c.					36,800
Total number of impressions,					1,095,800

This amount is exclusive of publications of other societies and individuals, which have been purchased and disseminated by this Society. It will be seen, by a comparison with the last report, that the issues of publication, this year have been *nine* times as great as those of last year, at only about *five* times the expense.

Of the periodical publications, which at first were

issued almost entirely by gratuitous distribution, 14,235 copies monthly, are now taken up by paying subscribers. So much has the demand for anti-slavery publications increased during the year, that the committee have decided to issue the *Emancipator* weekly of the same size with the present monthly. By this arrangement, it is not designed to supersede the monthly, which it is proposed still to issue in large quantities for gratuitous distribution, under a new name.

AGENTS.

In the course of the past year, the following gentlemen have been employed for longer or shorter periods, as agents or lecturers: Messrs. A. A. Phelps, Thomas Huntington, George Storrs, Theodore D. Weld, Henry B. Stanton, Samuel L. Gould, Augustus Wattles, James A. Thome, Huntington Lyman, J. W. Alvord, Wm. T. Allan, Sereno W. Streeter, and Charles C. Burleigh. Mr. Weld has been chiefly supported by the N. Y. City Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. Wm. Goodell has also been employed for a part of his time, in lecturing and writing for the periodicals. The entire amount of service performed by these individuals, is not less than eight years; but considering the frequency and length of their public addresses, as compared with those of ordinary preachers of the gospel, the amount may safely be stated at twenty-four years. They have truly *cried aloud and spared not*, and their success amidst reproaches, mobs, and hostile missiles of all

descriptions, has inspired the committee with the strongest desire to increase their number.

In this connection the committee would not forget to mention, the services of those noble-hearted and devoted men, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. The former has during the year given his time, and more than his time, gratuitously to this cause. The latter, while he remained with us, labored most abundantly and gained multitudes of converts. With the utmost fearlessness and good temper, he met a storm of mean and malignant opposition, such as few have encountered, since the days of the Apostles, and such as nothing but the truth and faithfulness of an Apostle could have called forth. He counted not his life dear to him, in the cause of the oppressed, nor would any peril have induced him to re-cross the Atlantic, but for the urgent advice of his friends, who were unwilling that a martyr for American liberty, should be any other than an American citizen. They would fain spare their country the shame of staining her soil, with the blood of the representative of her best friends in the old world—a man whom the noblest philanthropists of Europe delight to honor. If his traducers among us have any portion of self-respect remaining, they will be taught a lesson, by the enthusiasm with which George Thompson has been received by all whose favor is worth having in his native land. They will have reason to repent the violence which interrupted Mr. Thompson's labors here, for his voice will be more terrible to oppressors than ever, when it comes across the Atlantic, backed by the loud acclaim

of that noble army of philanthropists who knocked the fetters from eight hundred thousand British slaves.

Our brothers Stuart and Thompson are accused of being foreigners, as if it was a crime for a foreigner, while submitting himself to our laws, openly to discuss with us, in our own halls and churches, the propriety of our institutions! Is our republicanism a thing that fears open discussion? Such we, at least, have never understood it to be—much less our sins against republicanism; and among the last rights we shall be disposed to yield to the spirit of slavery, is the right to welcome and listen to such foreigners as George Thompson, nor will we cease our efforts to overthrow the spirit that persecuted him, till he shall be welcomed back, to share with us the triumph of those principles which he nobly jeoparded life to promulgate.

Before recurring to the events, which have grown out of the humble agency of this society during the past year, it may not be improper to advert to a popular misapprehension which has worked immense mischief to the slave, and which must be thoroughly exposed, before any thing effectual can be done for his relief. This mistake is, that at the period of the origin of this society, slavery was on the wane; that an influential portion, if not the mass, of slaveholders, were sedulously engaged in devising the best method of getting rid of the "evil," and that they only needed to be let alone, or quietly seconded in any movements they might spontaneously make, to

insure the removal of slavery in the way best adapted to promote all the high interests concerned. This general delusion dates back to the war of independence, which produced a very general determination, on the part of our fathers, to extend to others the liberty so dearly bought and so highly prized by themselves. Had the friends of human nature been faithful to their cause, slavery could never have recovered from the wounds it received from the Revolution. Emancipations were then much more frequent than now, and were avowedly made in recognition of the general principle, on which our fathers vindicated their own liberty. The hypocrisy of a pro-slavery revolutionist could not then escape the dullest apprehension, and there were accordingly few who ventured upon the infamy of hinting that slavery might be one of the elements of the nascent republic. But the friends of human nature were *not* faithful. They scorned to call in question the sincerity of the Southern lamentations over the "entailed evil." They took it for granted that those who had stood shoulder to shoulder with them, through the great struggle, would spontaneously carry out their common principles. They dared not to hint that slavery was a rotten carcass, which, bound to any part of the great body politic, would corrupt the whole. So the golden crisis for the remedy passed by. The slaveholders forgot the vows made in danger—and the returning lust of power readily availed itself of the mantle too charitably afforded by the over-delicate friends of

liberty. The slaveholders saw their advantage and most skilfully improved it. Their statesmen proceeded to invest their peculiar "*domestic policy*" with a mysterious and unapproachable sanctity. The remotest allusion to slavery, from a certain latitude, called to the brow of the southerner an ominous cloud, and from his lips a significant hint that the subject was "too delicate" for open discussion. A more direct appeal, perhaps, elicited something about "circumstances beyond his control"—and a "stern necessity." The North still foolishly *inferred* that the South, the gallant South, burning with the full ardor of the young liberty, was losing no time in the requisite *preparations* to escape from the "stern necessity;" the necessity of a practice at war with all its professions. It was under this strange misconception that the Federal Constitution was adopted. Both parties, to what is called the compromise, doubtless thought they had gained their end. The friends of slavery rejoiced that they had gained twenty years more of the slave trade; the silence of the Constitution in regard to slavery; and a virtual, though not explicit, injunction upon the states to deliver up fugitives. The friends of the slave, on the other hand, rejoiced in the *ultimate* abolition of the foreign slave trade; and the purity of the Constitution, a document from the *face* of which it would be impossible to divine that any such thing as slavery existed in the whole country! The obvious understanding with which *they* consented to the compromise was, that the

South should of its own accord, at no distant day, abate the monstrous evil which they had so dexterously contrived to avoid the mention of.

In all this the error was not, that the liberty of speech and of the press was sacrificed to the genius of slavery, but that that liberty was not practically exemplified. Had the South dared then to hint that the parties to the "compact" bound themselves not to *speak* or *print* their *free thoughts* on the subject of slavery, the Union would never have been formed. The error was, that slavery was passed in silence—it was not *reprobated*. Yes, that was the error. From that time, with increased zeal and diminished conscience have slaveholders waged an insidious warfare upon all our free institutions—so insidious that three years ago, nothing could be more undoubted than the fond dream that the South is cordially desirous of emancipation, and yet so effectual, that they now openly show the chains they have forged for us!

Now, if any thing is to be done in behalf of the slave, it is plain that this mighty misapprehension must first be removed; and it deserves to be carefully noted that all the influences to which we naturally looked for help against slavery, did but *confirm* the fatal delusion. The church, ever and anon deploring the *misfortune* and *evil* of slavery, but ever practising on the system and pocketing its unholy gains—clouded the eyes of philanthropists. The Colonization Society, taking it for granted that masters would spontaneously liberate as soon

as an *asylum* was provided, of course did not trouble itself to disturb the delusion of which it was partly the author and partly the dupe. No influence, moral or religious, before the rise of the Anti-Slavery Society, had done otherwise than to minister to the strength and permanency of that spell under which slavery enjoyed a present and perfect peace, while it rolled the guilt of its origin on the past, and the labor of its abolition upon the future.

The authorised mail robberies, the flogging and hanging of northern citizens, the pro-slavery mobs and the proposed gag-laws of 1835, certainly furnish the means of breaking the spell, if there is a possibility of breaking it. We shall dwell on some of these outrages with the view of deriving from them the instruction they are adapted to impart.

THE VIOLATION OF THE MAIL.

On the 30th of July, between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock at night, a number of persons assembled about the Exchange, in the city of Charleston, S. C., and deliberately proceeded to wrench open one of the windows of the U. S. Post Office, which having accomplished without any molestation, they took thence a package belonging to the mail, and the next evening, having given public notice of their intention during the day, they *burnt* the said package in the public square before an assembly of 3000 persons. This attack was not unexpected by the deputy who had charge of the Charleston Post

Office, and yet not only was nothing done for its defence, but the publications sought by the perpetrators of the crime were collected and placed in a package by themselves, for their convenience. This daring outrage upon the very life blood of our free institutions, was the crime of more than even the 3000 citizens who celebrated its success. On the 1st of August the Charleston City Council took the matter into consideration, and in the preamble of a resolution calling a general meeting of the citizens, they say, "Whereas a very proper excitement exists in this community."—A general meeting of the citizens on the 3d appointed a committee of 21, among whose duties it was to accompany the northern mail from the steamboat to the post office, and then inspect the separation of the obnoxious documents from the rest of its contents. With this committee, the post-master entered into an arrangement to stop all such publications as they pleased to call incendiary.

The history of this transaction is not yet complete. The head of the Post Office Department, being informed of the excitement at Charleston, previous to the robbery, and the danger of an attack upon the sacred precincts he was set to guard, gives the following reply to the question, whether the post-master at Charleston had done right in detaining certain papers, and would do right in excluding them from the mail :

"Upon a careful examination of the law, I am satisfied that the Post-Master General has no legal authority to exclude newspapers from the mail, nor prohi-

bit their carriage or delivery on account of their character or tendency, real or supposed. Probably it was not thought safe to confer on the head of an executive department a power over the press, which might be perverted and abused.

But I am not prepared to direct you to forward or deliver the papers of which you speak. The Post Office Department was created to serve the people of *each* and *all* of the *United States*, and not to be used as the instrument of their *destruction*. None of the papers detained have been forwarded to me, and I cannot judge for myself their character and tendency; but you inform me that they are, in character, "the most inflammatory and incendiary—and insurrectionary in the highest degree."

By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the *former* be perverted to destroy the *latter*, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn the step you have taken.

Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained, and the circumstances by which you are surrounded."

It was precisely on this principle of *a higher obligation to the communities in which we live than to the laws*, that the mail robbers of Charleston had already relieved the post-master of his difficulties. Thus has the head of the most vital department of our government thought it safe for him to exercise a power over the press which, by his own confession the Constitution and laws did not think it safe to confer upon him. Under this broad indulgence to violate law for the good of the communities in which they live, have the deputy post-masters assumed the censorship of the mails, excluding whatever they have pleased to consider "incendiary." This they have done not only in slave states, but in the free. The post-master in the city of New-York, has taken upon himself the responsibility of stopping all the publications of this Society mailed for persons residing in the slave states, whether sent gratuitously or to paying subscribers. And

this he has done with the full approbation of the head of the department. Says the Postmaster General in his letter to Mr. Gouverneur:—

“After mature consideration of the subject, and seeking the best advice within my reach, I am confirmed in the opinion, that the Postmaster General has no legal authority, by any order or regulations of his department, to exclude from the mails any species of newspapers, magazines or pamphlets. Such a power vested in the head of this department would be fearfully dangerous, and has been properly withheld. Any order or letter of mine, directing or officially sanctioning the step you have taken, would, therefore, be utterly powerless and void, and would not, in the slightest degree, relieve you from its responsibility.”

Yet, in the face of this acknowledged illegality he proceeds through a course of reasoning to the following conclusion:—

“As a measure of great public necessity, therefore, you and the other postmasters who have assumed the responsibility of stopping these inflammatory papers will, I have no doubt, stand justified in that step before your country and all mankind.”

The President, in his Message, has urged Congress to abridge the liberty of the press, by laws against the circulation of our publications through the mail. He says,

“I would therefore call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the southern states, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection.”

A bill, making it penal for any post-master to receive or forward, into any state, any publication which may have been prohibited by the laws thereof, is now pending before Congress—a bill which takes away from every man a right which he holds from the Constitution of the United States, and makes the Post Office a mere tool of the individual states.

We have not sketched the history of this most

flagrant outrage upon the rights of the people for the sake of reprobating it merely ; it gives a useful lesson. It teaches us that slavery is dearer to this guilty nation than its Constitution and its laws. The broadest and highest bulwark of our liberties already lies prostrate to make room for the grasping monster. What security have we for the rest ? When *mail-robbing* is honored and sanctioned, in support of slavery, it is time to inquire whether we are not mistaken in our hope that slavery will be removed by the spontaneous action of slaveholders ; whether free states can any longer be safe by the side of such an "evil."

The instruction to be derived from this violation of the mail becomes more important when we remember, that the pretence on which it has proceeded is altogether false. We have the strongest possible evidence from the slaveholders themselves of its entire falsehood. The Grand Jury of Tuscaloosa co., Alabama, in finding a bill of indictment against the Society's publishing agent, Mr. R. G. Williams, had in their possession the very publications, copies of which were burnt at Charleston ; and in searching for something to fasten upon him the guilt of attempting to excite insurrection, what was the most insurrectionary paragraph they could find ? It was the following, contained in the first No. of the monthly *Emancipator*: "God commands, and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property. The system of making *men* property, has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow countrymen

into the deepest physical and moral degradation, and they are every moment sinking deeper." Again, says the Editor of the United States Telegraph, one of the most authoritative organs of *Southern* opinions:—

"We are of those who believe the south has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the *CONSCIENCES* and fears of the slaveholders themselves; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies, into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles.—It is only by alarming the *consciences* of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a 'sin against God;' that the 'national compact' involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term '*its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.*'"

Again, says the Hon. John C. Calhoun, himself the author of the "Incendiary Publication bill,"

"Do they [his Southern opponents,] expect the abolitionists will resort to arms, and commence a crusade to liberate our slaves by force? Is this what they mean when they speak of the attempt to abolish slavery? If so let me tell our friends of the South, who differ from us, that the war which the abolitionists wage against us is of a very different character and far more effective—it is waged not against our *lives* but our *character.*"

It is the *moral discussion of slavery* that the slaveholders fear, and especially that going on at the NORTH. They violated the sacred rights of the national mail, not to keep incendiary matter from the sight of their abject vassals, but to frighten the North from the *discussion*, and Mr. Calhoun's bill will fail of its design, if it do not stop the circulation of all publications against slavery, in the *free* states as well as the *slave*. So much for half a century of slumber. So much for our amiable and

obliging, and prudent schemes in days past. It is perhaps one of the wise arrangements of the Divine government that the mouth, which will not plead for the oppressed, shall be stopped, if so, there is reason to fear that our repentance may come too late to save us from the righteous penalty.

BRUTAL AND ARBITRARY INFLICTIONS.

During the past year numerous individuals have been either shamefully scourged or put to death, without a legal trial, for the alleged crime of maintaining abolition sentiments, or attempting to excite the slaves to insurrection. We need not repeat here the well known narrative of Amos Dresser, who after a mock trial before a Vigilance Committee, composed of magistrates, MINISTERS of the *gospel*, and distinguished citizens, in the city of Nashville, was flogged 20 lashes, on the bare back, with a heavy cowskin. One of his self created judges afterwards stated expressly, in a public print of which he was the editor :

"DRESSER HAD NOT LAID HIMSELF LIABLE TO ANY PUNISHMENT KNOWN TO OUR LAWS."

But this editor regards the laws of his state as *defective*, in this respect, and "trusts the defect will be remedied" at the next session of the legislature. Such remedy could be nothing less than making those things legally criminal, of which Dresser was found guilty, viz. 1. "Of being a member of an Anti-Slavery Society." 2d. "Of having in possession periodicals published by the American

Anti-Slavery Society. 3d. "Of being BELIEVED to have circulated these periodicals and advocated in the community, the principles they inculcate." The legislature of Tennessee has been at work the last winter in remedying the defect of its statute book, and has made it a penitentiary offence to *receive* or give away publications which a slave-holding jury may judge dangerous to slavery.

The absurdity as well as injustice of this barbarous mode of proceeding, was well illustrated at Farmville, Va., where an individual was most inhumanly beaten and ignominiously abused, for the crime of abolitionism, who turned out to be wholly innocent, and of whom the Richmond Whig says,

"We hear with painful feelings that the individual Lynched at Farmville, was from the strongest evidence not only innocent of any purpose of injury to the people of the south, but a harmless, inoffensive, and pious man! We feel for him, but we feel more for those who, in a patriotic but rash and mistaken spirit, inflicted a severe and degrading punishment on an innocent man!"

The editor of the Whig previously throws the whole guilt of this shameful outrage, upon the northern abolitionists, whom he proceeds to threaten in a style that so well illustrates the spirit and tendency of slavery, that we cannot forbear to quote a few words:—

"What say the hell-hounds at the north, to facts like these, caused by their most daring and flagitious interference with our concerns? To the facts of one innocent man being near hanged, another innocent citizen scourged with rods, and the whole slave population debarred of privileges, and curtailed of comforts which humanity cheerfully provided, that *their* villainy may be counteracted? This is their philanthropy! What real philanthropist must not wish with fervent sincerity, that *they* were in the hands of the southern people, to answer for their atrocious injuries to them, and their cruel inflictions on the innocent?—Let them beware! Let them not feel too much security in their homes, or imagine that they who throw firebrands although from, as they think, so safe a distance, will be permitted to escape with impunity.—The race of Champes and Jaspers is not extinguished in the South. There are thousands now animated with a spirit to

brave every danger, to bring these felons to justice on the soil of the southern states, whose women and children they have dared to endanger by their hell-concocted plots. The blood of the innocent man scourged in Cumberland, unites in the appeal for justice, and we confess has inspired us with an indignation ten-fold more fervent than we have yet experienced. We have *feared* that Southern exasperation would seize some of the prime conspirators in their very beds, and drag them to meet the punishment due their offences, on the theatre of their criminal attempts. We *fear* it no longer. We hope it may be so, and our applause as one man, shall follow the successful enterprise."

The tone and temper of the above is by no means singular, it has pervaded, with a few honorable exceptions, the whole southern press.

In this state of feeling it is not to be wondered that every insurrectionary movement, real or imaginary, should be charged to the abolitionists. An extensive plot was said to have been entered into by the slaves of several counties in Mississippi, which was to be put in execution on the 4th of July. This discovery, said to have been made by a faithful negro, threw the whole country into a state of excitement. On the 6th of July 26 persons were hanged without trial. Two of them were white citizens of other states, who died protesting their innocence. No evidence has yet come before the public showing that there was any plot at all. The confessions made by some of the victims under the gallows are altogether matters of rumor. The court that administered "justice" with such fearful despatch, so far as the public has been informed, kept no record of its proceedings!

The benefit of a civilized government consists in this, that under the majesty of its laws, the individual, whatever may be his opinions, or however bold his expression of them, is safe. He is not de-

pendent for protection upon the conformity of his views and feelings on any subject with those of any man or set of men. But whoever travels at the South, must owe his safety either to the conformity of his opinions with those of slaveholders, or to the concealment of them. The majesty of the law cannot shield the luckless head of him who is known, though but in the recesses of his heart, to condemn the principle of property in man. But why do we speak of him who *travels* at the South? He who sits still in a free state and republishes the sentiments of Patrick Henry, William Pinckney, or Thomas Jefferson, is proclaimed an outlaw, and every villain in the land is tempted by large rewards to steal upon him and drag him from his bed, to suffer the scourge or the halter upon the very soil of those patriots, whose sentiments he has dared to repeat.

This state of feeling in regard to all moral interference with slavery has not been created by the abolitionists, but brought to light. Immediate abolitionism has thus far been only the test which has shown the progress of the disease, its secret, insidious, scarcely suspected progress. The unbounded wrath and railing and murdering at the South, show how far, if not fatally, the disease has triumphed there; and the pro-slavery meetings and mobs at the North, will show how far the same disease has worked its way here.

To detail the instances in which during the past year boisterous and sometimes bloody riot has tri-

umphed over law and order, would far exceed the limits of this annual report. The lesson has been so often repeated, that the more wise and patriotic of all parties have expressed their despair of the country, unless better principles can be infused through the mass on the necessity of putting down all mobs. Even some of the advocates of slavery themselves have trembled for the consequences; and well they might, for while their house has been on fire, its mad inmates have been pulling out the stones of its foundation to throw at the abolitionists, who were approaching with at least the benevolent intention of putting it out.

Of the Charleston riot, the first act in that grand drama of which Mr. Calhoun's bill is the last, we have already spoken.

On the 16th of August, 1834, the proprietors of an Academy in the town of Canaan, New Hampshire, came to the nearly unanimous decision to admit into their school, *all* applicants of suitable moral and intellectual qualifications. The announcement of this decision was regarded by many of the public journals as an indirect libel upon other literary institutions, which it was said, throughout New England, were *free* to all. The event, however, proved that there is a wide difference between *freedom* in the abstract, and the *practical* matter of freely opening the fountains of knowledge to the despised caste. After the requisite preparations, the school was commenced on the 1st of March, 1835. Of its 42 pupils, 14 were the children and

youth of colored parents, who were kindly and cordially received by their schoolmates of the orthodox and established complexion, and availed themselves of their unwonted privileges with exemplary modesty, industry, and discretion. But such an outrage upon the sacred and patriarchal system of Southern slavery was not to be tolerated among the *free* hills of New England ;—it would lead, it was feared, to an “irruption of the Southern negroes,” to a “disunion of the States,” and to other consequences too horrible to be thought of. A town meeting was called, in which it was resolved to remove the school-house as a *nuisance*; and accordingly, on the 10th of August, the house was dragged from its foundations by one hundred yoke of oxen, and left in the highway, a useless ruin ! Now what deserves remark is, that the condemnation of this pitiful and profligate piece of barbarism, this outrage upon all rights, natural or vested, by the periodical press at large, was exceedingly faint, even when it was heard at all. Not a few popular journals lauded the achievement of the mobocrats as a noble victory. But the blow was doubtless needed, and has had its use. Many a man of generous heart and expanded intellect, has said to himself, in view of the despicable prejudice of this transaction, “The side of my colored brother in this struggle shall be my side : let my tongue parch if it refuse to acknowledge his equal brotherhood, and my hand wither if it refuse to grasp the hand of him whom a proud nation would set at nought for the complex-

ion God has given him. Never will I acknowledge myself the citizen of a free country, till such schools as that of Canaan shall enjoy the active and substantial protection of law." We charge the Canaan mob upon Southern slavery; it is a brazen monument of pro-slavery interference with our free institutions.

On the 11th of August, Dr. Reuben Crandall, of Peekskill, N. Y., residing in Georgetown, D. C., as a physician and botanical lecturer, was arrested in the midst of the most lawless uproar, and committed to prison, for the crime of being an abolitionist and having in his possession a few anti-slavery publications. It is said to have been with the utmost difficulty that the civil authorities saved him from being murdered on his way to prison in the city of Washington. Without having violated any law of the District, or of the United States, he was incarcerated from that time till the month of April. He was charged with circulating incendiary publications; yet in his trial, the character of the publications was not made a matter of inquiry at all; but, while such inquiry would have proved that in circulating he did only what every citizen has a right to do, he was obliged to rest his defence on the plea that he did *not* circulate. A trial of ten days resulted in his *acquittal*. Yet was it deemed hazardous for him to be seen in the District, in public. We charge it upon slavery, that in the 60th year of American independence, and the 48th of the Constitution, a citizen of a free state cannot safely pursue

his business or pleasure, in the ten miles square, under the exclusive legislation of Congress. In that District has an honorable and inoffensive citizen of New-York been mobbed, and immured nine months in an unwholesome dungeon, for presuming to interfere, in a moral and constitutional manner, with the sin and curse of the traffic in human flesh ! And yet abolitionists are asked, "How is slavery in the District *a grievance* to you ?"

The 21st of October, 1836, will long be memorable for two mobs, from the infamy of which our country can recover only by a full repentance, and the complete abolition of slavery. Before we proceed, however, to take special notice of these occasions, we must call attention to the rise, progress, and nature of the war of Anti-Abolition meetings.

We have already spoken of the public meeting at Charleston, S. C., on the 3d of August, called to complete, what the mob had so gloriously begun. Its resolutions developed the tone of feeling, on the part of the leading influences in Church and State, out of which the Post-Office robbery had naturally grown. His Honor the Intendant, presided over "one of the most imposing assemblages of citizens," and the clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and aiding, by their presence, the impressive character of the scene. The meeting produced a preamble and resolutions, which were ushered into the world by the Charleston Courier, with the hope,

"That the people of the non-slave-holding states, animated as well by a spirit

of patriotic fraternity, as a sense of constitutional obligation towards their Southern brethren, will promptly adopt the necessary measures to PUNISH and silence the vile incendiaries, within their limits, who, not daring to appear in person among us, where the GALLOWS and STAKE await them, discharge their missiles of mischief in the security of distance, which should no longer be permitted to avail them."

The committee who drafted the resolutions, say in their preamble, that they

"Have purposely abstained from any labored argument on the subject of slavery, not from any inability to sustain, on *moral* and *scriptural* grounds, its existence and toleration, as now established in South Carolina, but from a deep conviction of the fixed resolution of the people of this state, to permit no discussion within her limits, of RIGHTS, which she deems inherent and inseparable from the very existence of the state."

Some of the resolutions, which were used as models, in a multitude of succeeding meetings, were as follows:—

"1. *Resolved*, That we hold it to be an unquestionable truth, that the subject of slavery, as it now exists in the slave-holding states of this Union, is, in all its bearings, a DOMESTIC QUESTION, belonging exclusively to the citizens of those states; that the people of no other state have any right to interfere therewith, in any manner whatsoever—and that such interference is utterly inconsistent with the federal compact, and cannot be submitted to."

"2. *Resolved*, That we regard with the utmost indignation and abhorrence, the proceedings of those INCENDIARIES in some of our sister states, who, under the name of "Anti-Slavery Societies," and other specious appellations, are endeavoring to undermine our institutions, regardless of the fatal consequences which must inevitably result from the prosecution of their nefarious schemes, which if successful could not fail to involve the southern states in ruin, and produce the utter destruction of that class of persons, for whose welfare they pretend to be so solicitous.

The statements recently put forth of the existence, at this time, of 250 such societies, in 13 states, and the weekly issue, from a single press in the city of New-York, of from 25 to 50,000 copies of these incendiary pamphlets and papers, with which our public mail has been lately burdened, and which are now spreading their deleterious influence throughout the southern states—admonish us of the absolute necessity of taking prompt and decisive measures, to avert the dire calamities which such proceedings are so well calculated to produce."

"3. *Resolved*, That these proceedings have brought about a *crisis*, which makes an earnest, and we trust that it may prove an irresistible appeal to all such of our fellow-citizens in the non-slave-holding states, as may disapprove of these societies and their measures, calling upon them, by every consideration of duty and of patriotism, to manifest that *disapprobation*, not merely by the expression

of their *opinions*, but by the most active, zealous, and persevering efforts to *put down* these associations, and to suppress that fanatical spirit, which, in pursuing an *imaginary good*, is regardless of the fatal consequences which are inseparable even from its continued prosecution, among which, not the least to be lamented, would be **THE CERTAIN DESTRUCTION OF THE UNION!**

"5. *Resolved*, That the Post Office establishment cannot, consistently with the Constitution of the United States, and the objects of such an institution, be converted into an instrument for the dissemination of incendiary publications, and that it is the duty of the federal government to provide that it shall not be so prostituted, which can easily be effected, by merely making it unlawful to transport by the public mail, through the limits of any state, any seditious papers, forbidden by the laws of such state to be introduced or circulated therein, and by adopting the necessary regulations to effect the object."

"7. *Resolved*, That for the sake of making such an earnest appeal to the people of the non-slaveholding states, as may convince them of the true state of public feeling amongst us, it would in the opinion of this meeting be desirable to bring about a cordial co-operation either through a CONVENTION, or in any other way best calculated to embody public sentiment, so that the truth may be made known, that however we may differ among ourselves on other points, we are on this subject *united as one man in the fixed and unalterable determination to maintain our rights, and defend our property against all attacks—be the consequences what they may.*"

"11. *Resolved*, That the City Council be also requested to take the proper measures to secure the strict performance of the duty imposed by the law upon the Harbor Master, of keeping a correct list of all persons arriving at, and departing from, this port; and that they also request the President and Directors of the Railroad Company, to have correct lists of all persons arriving and departing by that conveyance, whether white, free colored, or slaves, and that measures be taken to have those lists regularly examined to the intent, that incendiaries, and other evil disposed persons coming amongst us, or attempting to pass through this state, may be detected and exposed.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the clergy of this city, who have so promptly and so effectually responded to public sentiment, by suspending their schools in which the free colored population were taught; and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by the other teachers of similar schools throughout the state."

On the next day, a similar meeting was held in Richmond, Va., and passed resolutions of the same character. It will be sufficient to quote the two following:—

"1st. *Resolved*, That we shall hold any attempt to impair the right of property in our slaves, as guaranteed by the Constitution, by the abolition of slavery by Congress, in any of the states, or any of the territories or *districts* where slavery now exists, or to regulate the manner in which slaves may be sold from

one state to another, as a wanton violation of our political compact, and destructive of the whole frame of our government.

"2d. *Resolved*, That we have a just claim on all the non-slaveholding states for the enactment of suitable and efficient laws, to repress and put down by adequate penalties, all incendiary or seditious associations, whose avowed purpose is to disturb our peace, and to excite insurrection among our slaves; and we confidently rely on the wisdom and firmness of the General Assembly, by a proper appeal to those states, to procure the passage of such laws."

These monstrous falsehoods, and arrogant demands, were re-echoed from every town and village south of the Potomac. In the most furious style, multitudes threatened to imbrue their hands in the blood of every abolitionist who should set foot on their soil, and to visit upon the heads of the innocent free colored people among them, the sins of their friends in the free states.

The point to be remarked is, that the South, in these tyrannous resolutions, denies to the North all right of morally discussing the subject of slavery; thus haughtily summoning them to surrender the only bulwark of their own liberties. *She* may enjoy free intercourse with all our cities, free access to all our institutions of learning, the free use of the mail,—she may send thousands of her most influential and accomplished citizens among us from year to year, with full liberty to corrupt the minds and hearts of our citizens in *favor* of slavery, but *we* must never call in question the moral right of holding men as property. *She* may send among us the poisonous disquisitions of her reverend defenders of slavery, Drs. Furman and Dalcho, or the polished and deceitful arguments of Holland and Dew, and it is no interference with *our* "domestic policy," or our "peculiar institutions;" but *we* may not send back the

antidotes of Mrs. Child, of Judge Jay, or of Dr. Channing; no, nor of her own Birney;—no, nor yet of her own canonized sage, Jefferson!

How were these demands answered from the North? Cringingly, hypocritically. With all the meanness of men who, having partially apostatized from the principles of liberty, have not the courage to avow it. The meetings of Portland, Boston, Philadelphia, New-York, and Albany, are our witnesses. Let it be understood, we do not say this was the answer of the North;—it was the answer of those who set themselves up as the organs of the North,—the merchants, and politicians, and aristocrats of our principal cities, which are most corrupted by southern trade and companionship, and their humble imitators in our more inland towns. There is yet a mass of uncorrupt yeomanry in the land, the bone and muscle of the nation, which sent back no such craven submission. And it was their silent but deeply felt influence that checked the pens of the drafters of these sycophantic resolutions, just between their expressions of windy abuse and vituperation, and the expression of a sincere determination to inflict pains and penalties. It was their influence that made the resolutions as hollow and empty of all satisfaction to the South, as were the hearts of their authors of every noble and generous sentiment. It was easily foreseen at the South, that the violent denunciation of the abolitionists in these great Northern meetings, would bring upon them plentiful showers of bludgeons and brickbats,

but would not place them under the ban of law. Not a meeting dared to propose *suppression by law*, except that of Philadelphia, and the pity then was, that the resolutions were notoriously the work of a parcel of political striplings, who had far more zeal for slavery than knowledge of the public sentiment of the city they had undertaken to represent.

These meetings had just the effect that might have been anticipated. All the negro haters in the land boastfully prophesied that the abolitionists would never move under such a load of slavery; that they would not venture to face so formidable an array of public sentiment. Rival parties for the favor of the South began to dispute with each other for the honor of having put down the abolitionists. This, however, was quite premature. The abolitionists had received no new light on the moral question from all these resolutions, except, indeed, the knowledge of the fact, that slavery had well nigh subverted all moral opposition at the North. The question now became, Shall we, by basely succumbing now, sacrifice the last hope of a moral reformation in behalf of the slave? Souls even less deeply devoted than the abolitionists might have answered, No. There was no faltering in the abolition ranks. There was no waiting for the storm to pass over. The tremendous outcry of the abettors of slavery for silence was received as the weightiest possible reason for crying aloud, and sparing not. The two occasions on which the spirit

of abolition first met the proud array of the pro-slavery preamble and resolution forces, were the annual meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and the meeting of the New-York State A. S. Convention, both on the 21st of October.

Whoever has read, with any degree of candor, the Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, entitled "Right and Wrong in Boston," cannot have failed to admire the good providence of God in raising up a society, in every way so well qualified to stand the brunt against the enemies of human nature. That society, while the enemy were singing pæans over the great Faneuil Hall meeting, and rejoicing over the utter prostration of the abolition cause, notified its annual meeting to be held in Congress Hall, on the 14th of October. The time was their constitutional one, and the place the only public one, (with one exception,) that was left to their choice in the city. The announcement was received with the utmost indignation by the friends of slavery. They professed to regard it as a piece of unparalleled effrontery, that a female society should presume to hold a meeting after all they had done to put down abolitionism; and especially that their intention should have been openly proclaimed from some of the pulpits. The proprietor and lessee of the Hall were frightened, lest their property should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the mob, and withdrew their permission to use it for the meeting. Thus shut out, the ladies postponed their meeting till further notice. The week following,

it was announced that it would take place on the 21st of October, at the room of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at 3 o'clock, P. M. The ladies were informed of the certainty that their proceedings would be violently interrupted. But they were true to the cause, true to themselves and their children. They met, surrounded by a mob of 5,000 persons—said by some of the daily newspapers to have been “gentlemen of property and standing,” but who violently assaulted the room, with curses and imprecations, and with the aid of those who should have protected it, and punished them, forced the meeting to adjourn to a private house. Not content with this glorious achievement, this *gentlemanly* rabble laid violent hands upon Mr. Garrison, Editor of the Liberator, who, during the attack upon the ladies, had been writing in an adjoining room. He was stripped of a part of his clothing, and dragged through the streets, bound with a rope. By the collusion of friendly hands, he was taken before the Mayor of the city, whose protection—posterity will wonder to be told—consisted in committing him to prison.

Here we see the relief and protection afforded to the South by the Faneuil Hall meeting. By that meeting, the public press, and the “gentlemen of property and standing,” were taught to regard the abolitionists as the worst enemies of their country, who *must be silenced*. Of course, if they would not defer to the majesty of that august assembly, and obey its solemn manifesto, inasmuch as there was

no *law* applicable to their case, what else could be done than to apply brute force without law? And what, after all, was the amount of consolation obtained for the slaveholders by these 5,000 respectable and accomplished "Lynchers?" It was this. The Female Anti-Slavery Society *adjourned* to a place of more security, *where several members were added to their number*. The whole amount of the victory *claimed* over Mr. Garrison is, that he *turned deadly pale**—as he doubtless would have done had he fallen defenceless among a gang of hungry wolves; but it is not pretended that he recanted his opinions any more in the one case, than he would have done in the other! The Female Anti-Slavery Society is now stronger and freer than ever. Its "Right and Wrong in Boston" has pinned the "gentlemen of property and standing" upon the page of history so effectually, that they already enjoy the verdict of posterity as vile sychophants, and graceless disturbers of their country's peace. Mr. Garrison is still the Editor of the *Liberator*, nor has that print abated a particle of its holy indignation against oppression, nor neglected any opportunity to rebuke the tools of oppressors, nor are we aware that it has lost a single subscriber.

On the 20th of September, a call was issued by the Utica Anti-Slavery Society, for a convention, to be holden in that city, on the 21st of October, for the purpose of forming a state anti-slavery society. This call was signed by more than 400 persons in

* Even this miserable ground of triumph is taken away, by the testimony of unimpeachable eye-witnesses, who saw the whole.

different parts of the State. The Supreme Court room, in the city of Utica, was granted for the use of the Convention, by the Common Council. This, and the imposing character of the call, made it important for the political partizans of both parties to frustrate the Convention; otherwise, they must expect to lose southern votes. Certain political leaders, well acquainted with the business of manufacturing public opinion, set themselves at work upon the most excitable elements of society, and by means of public meetings, organized and trained a mob for breaking up the Convention. When the Convention assembled in the city, on the 21st of October, it found the Court room occupied by a meeting of so called "peaceable citizens," headed by a number of political men. These "peaceable citizens" had placed themselves in the Court room for the avowed purpose of depriving the Convention of the privilege granted by the Common Council. As soon as it was known that the Convention was in session in one of the churches, the same "peaceable citizens" transferred themselves to that place, at the heels of their leaders, now known as the "committee of twenty-five." This committee interrupted the Convention by reading a paper of a very insulting character, and demanded that the Convention adjourn. The Convention proposed a Committee to reply at length, and state reasons to the "peaceable citizens." The latter, however, came not to hear *reasons*; and setting up a confused uproar, which might well be called

the argument of fools, so utterly drowned the voices of the Convention, that it was impossible to proceed. The main object of the Convention, the adoption of a constitution of a N. Y. State Anti-Slavery Society, having been accomplished, it adjourned sine die; and the next day the State Anti-Slavery Society itself met, at Peterboro', 29 miles distant, and proceeded peaceably in its business. What was accomplished for slavery by breaking up the Utica Convention? About six hundred delegates, from all parts of the State, had assembled. They had already done something for the cause of the oppressed. After being driven from a house dedicated to the service of God, by a knot of congressmen, judges, editors, and lawyers, followed and supported by a clamorous, drunken, and blaspheming rabble, they were prepared *to do more*. Their abolitionism was made a part of their souls, and they were ready to die in the cause. But this was not all; there were others who came to see and hear for themselves—they might have seen little force in the arguments of the abolitionists, and continued to remain neutral or unenlisted. But they compared the conduct and temper of the abolitionists with what they saw in their opposers: they weighed slavery by the ferocious and bloodthirsty mob, which that day espoused its cause, and they went away abolitionists. The eyes of the people of the state, too, were fixed on the scene; yes, of many of the states, and every where it may be said, the cause of slavery lost much, and gained nothing.

In many other places, almost at the same time, similar means were resorted to, to put down abolitionism, and invariably with similar success. The exhibition of slavery, which has been made through all these anti-abolition meetings and mobs, has done more than could have been done by the arguments of a thousand lecturers, to convince the sober and disinterested, that slavery is a crime which cannot be tolerated in silence, that it is a system which must either crush or be crushed, that it aims a fatal blow at all in which real liberty consists. They have broken up for ever, in many minds, the delusion already referred to, that slavery, *of itself*, is rapidly verging to decay, and relaxing its grasp before the light of a better age. The very influences at the North, which were relied upon for putting an end to slavery, are found to be opposed to it only in *the abstract*, while they are ready to befriend it in practice, and fly to its rescue when attacked by the moral power of the gospel.

But we have another source whence to derive still more abundant proof, that slavery has been growing with our growth, and striking its deadly roots about the vitals of our freedom. If there is any defence against the avarice of oppressors, who buy and sell the muscles of their fellow-men, it is in the Christian religion, whose founder taught, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." With what pernicious rapidity must this cruel system advance, when it has not only neutralized the church, but gained its full

sanction and support—when it has not only escaped the powerful censure's of God's book, but learned to quote the authority of that book in its favor! Never did the church give evidence of more fearful corruption, never was the awful power of religion more dangerously perverted, than when learned divines set themselves to prove, from holy writ, that "might makes right," that he who *can*, may appropriate to himself the labor of others, without paying for it! We charge upon *such* divinity the continuance of a system, whose development is the murder of millions—the consummation of all human crimes! Now it is easy to show, that the present year has been fruitful in sentiments which justify and tend to eternize slavery in all its horrors, and that the foulest and most malignant of these expressions, whether in justification of slavery, or in hostility to those who would abolish it, have proceeded from consecrated expounders of God's revelation and law.

The clergy of Richmond, Va., on the 29th of August

"*Resolved*, UNANIMOUSLY, That the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in not interfering with the question of slavery, but *uniformly recognizing* the relations of master and servant, and giving full and affectionate instruction to both, is worthy of the imitation of all Ministers of the Gospel."

They also

"*Resolved*, That the suspicions which have prevailed to a considerable extent against Ministers of the Gospel, and professors of religion in the State of Virginia, as identified with Abolitionists, are *wholly unmerited*, believing as we do, from extensive acquaintance with our churches and brethren, that they are unanimous in opposing the pernicious schemes of Abolitionists."

This sanction of slavery is none the less wicked because it is equivocal and indirect.

The Synod of Va. subsequently passed the following resolution:—

“Resolved, unanimously, That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations—that slavery, as it actually exists in our slaveholding States, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as directly and palpably, contrary to the plainest principles of common sense, and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God.”

The Edgefield, (S. C.,) Baptist Association,

“Resolved, That the practical question of slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the scriptures by Jesus Christ and his Apostles.”

“Resolved, That these uniformly recognized the relation of master and slave, and enjoined on both their respective duties, under a system of servitude more degrading and absolute than that which obtains in our country.”

The same association appointed a *day of fasting*, not to “undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free,” but to entreat God

“To give to our brethren and all others at the North, who are embarked in the unscriptural cause of the abolition of slavery among us, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his apostles under a similar state of things, when they were upon the earth, in imitation of whose example they should be found, that instead of scattering firebrands into the southern portion of the Union, and stirring up a servile war, they may “endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.”

Surely this is fasting “to smite with the fist of wickedness.”

The ministers and messengers of the Goslien Association, assembled at *Free Union*, Louisa co., Va., unblushingly publish the following statement and resolutions:—

“The most of us have been born and reared in the midst of this population. Very many of us, too, have been ushered into life under inauspicious and disadvantageous circumstances, having no patrimonies to boast, and inheriting little else from our parents but an existence and a name. We have, however, through the blessings of God, by a persevering course of industry, and rigid economy, acquired a competent support for ourselves and families. And as a reward for our laborious exertion, we received such property as was guaranteed to us, not only by the laws of our individual states, but by those of the United States. In consideration whereof, we unanimously adopt the following resolutions:”

"1st. *Resolved*, That we consider our right and title to this property altogether legal and *bona fide*, and that it is a breach of that faith pledged in the Federal Constitution for our northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto.

"4th. *Resolved*, That we entertain grateful feelings towards Mr. Gouverneur, Postmaster of the city of New-York, who retained those papers on his own responsibility, and that we highly respect the names of Sprague, Fletcher, and Otis, for the very able and lucid manner in which (in the city of Boston,) they have discussed this all-absorbing subject which threatens the dissolution of the Union.

"6th. *Resolved*, That we consider there is something radically wrong in the logic of those would-be philanthropists at the North, who lay it down as one of their main propositions, that they must do what is right, regardless of consequences, inasmuch as they *will not venture to come this side of the Potomac to teach and lecture publicly, where* (they say) *this crying evil exists*.

"7th, *Resolved*, also, That the Bible which we profess to take as the rule and directory of all our actions, fully and clearly recognizes the relation of master and servant; and that our Savior and his Apostles taught servants their various duties to their masters and submission to the powers that be. The case of Onesimus, and the directions given by an inspired apostle, certainly are in point."

The Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, adopted a "Report on Slavery," which contains the following passage:—

"Slavery is an evil which the civil authority alone can remedy: *the church can do nothing towards it, except to require kindness* on the part of its *white* members towards their *slaves*, and *fidelity* towards their *masters* on the part of the *slaves*. In accordance with this view, we have uniformly regarded the *indiscriminate* traffic in slaves, as well as every other species of cruelty exercised upon them, as criminal, and, consequently, as falling under the Disciplinary interdiction of our church. *But this is all, as a body of Methodist ministers, we can do.* The laws of our country preclude the possibility of any thing like general emancipation."

The Charleston Baptist Association, in a memorial to the legislature of S. C., say

"The undersigned would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the *fact* of slavery a *question of morals* at all."

Again:

"THE RIGHT OF MASTERS TO DISPOSE OF THE TIME OF THEIR SLAVES, HAS BEEN DISTINCTLY RECOGNISED BY THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS."

The Charleston Union Presbytery, unequivocally avow their opinion as follows :—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his Holy Word—that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles ; and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge, and that, therefore, they who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion, that all slaveholding is wrong, proceed upon false principles.”

Similar sentiments have been promulgated by nearly every ecclesiastical body at the South, and some not far behind them, by a few such bodies at the North. If we advert to the expressions of southern clergymen, we shall see what spirit has prompted these tyrannical and blasphemous resolutions. We shall see, that instead of standing aloof from slavery, as they pretend that Christ and his Apostles did, they themselves are shameless slaveholders in heart, and often in practice. They wrathfully denounce the reprovers of oppression, as criminals of the worst stamp.

We are told by the southern Christian Herald, that the Rev. J. H. Thornwell, and Rev. Mr. Carlisle addressed a meeting in Lancasterville, S. C., in support of the following, among other resolutions :—

“1. That Slavery, as it exists in the South, is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion ; that all opposition to it arises from a *misguided* and *fiendish fanaticism*, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold.”

“2. That all interference with this subject by fanatics, is a violation of our civil and social rights—is unchristian, and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed ; and that the instigators are *murderers* and *assassins*.”

“3. That any interference with this subject, on the part of Congress, must lead to a dissolution of the Union.”

A clergyman of Virginia closes a letter

"To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations, within the bounds of West Hanover Presbytery,"

published in the *Richmond Whig*, as follows :—

"If there be any stray-goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

"Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

"ROBERT N. ANDERSON."

Says the Rev. Alexander Campbell, of Virginia :—

"I would hold as sacred the rights of the South to their slaves, as I do the rights of the North to their land, neither of which were at first obtained in the temple of justice, and by the laws of immutable right and obligation; but both of which are consecrated and sanctioned by national agreements, bonds, and pledges, as solemn as matrimony, and as irrevocable as the Magna Charta of our national existence."

Says the Rev. Rufus W. Bailey :—

"I love to dwell on the religious privileges and prospects of our black population, in contrast with their brethren, who remain free in their native deserts."

The same Rev. apologist for slavery also professes *greatly to fear*

"That Great Britain, in a noble endeavor to act nobly, has precipitated her colonial slaves to a deeper ruin."

The Rev. William M. Atkinson, of Virginia, after giving to the legislators of that State the credit of first putting down the *slave trade*, says

"That they would have gone further, and have radically changed the condition of the black man in our country, if they had believed it could have been done with safety and with benevolence, the history of the times affords us ample reason to believe. That in this respect they judged rightly *I do not doubt; and I rejoice for the sake of the black man*, as well as of the white, that they did so judge."

This Rev. gentleman, who is the general agent of the Virginia Bible Society, in vindicating himself from the charge of being an abolitionist, in a letter published in the *Richmond Whig*, says: "My interests are identified with those of my native State. My all of property, which, if it be but little, is still

my all, is vested in real estate and SLAVES in Virginia."

The Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, of Virginia, having been absent from Richmond, when the ministers of the gospel of that city met to testify their abhorrence of abolition, addressed the chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in such language as follows, which the editor of the Southern Religious Telegraph highly commends.

"I have carefully watched this matter from its earliest existence, and every thing I have seen and heard of its character, both from its patrons, and its enemies has confirmed me, beyond repentance, in the belief that, let the character of Abolitionists be what it may in the sight of the judge of all the earth, this is the most meddlesome, imprudent, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement I ever saw. There is no man, there is no institution whose character is too sacred to receive the assaults of these miserably misguided and ill-judging men. I am willing at any time that the *world* should know that such are my views.—A few things are perfectly clear to my mind.

"1st. The more speedy, united, firm and solemnly resolute, but temperate the expression of public opinion on this subject in the whole South, the better will it be for the North, for slaveholders, and generally for the slaves.

"2d. If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, *it is but fair that they should have the first warming at the fire*; and as was expressed in the Petersburg resolutions, it is not right that our slaves be made needlessly to suffer.

"3d. While it is undoubtedly true that at such times of dreadful excitement and awful suspense, as good men at the South are now universally liable to, every man ought to hold himself entirely ready, spontaneously to make known his posture and his character; yet it must be painful in the extreme to a man of real courage, to see an unoffending stranger treated with rudeness. Especially do I feel it to be my duty to declare my deep and utter abhorrence of the reign of the mob, in a land where the only conservative principle is in a ready and profound submission to the majesty of law. The enormities that have been practised in a few instances in Virginia of late, have filled me with shame and sorrow.

"4th. Let it be proclaimed throughout this nation, that every movement made by the fanatics, (so far as it has any effect in the South,) does but rivet every fetter of the bondsman—diminish the probability of any thing being successfully undertaken for making him either fit for freedom, or likely to obtain it. We have the authority of Montesquieu, Burke and Coleridge, three profound masters of the science of human nature, in support of the position, that of all men, slaveholders are the most jealous of their liberties. One of Pennsylvania's most gifted sons has lately pronounced the South the cradle of Liberty. And will men in any

part of this land continue to insult and harass us and threaten to drive the ploughshare of ruin through our domestic relations, and yet suppose that we will tamely submit to it.

"5. While I am, from religious principles, opposed to war, yet should our brethren in any part of this land wish to commence the work of fratricide and parricide, I have no doubt that even Virginia alone and unaided by more, could and would defend her name, her rights, her property, and the peace and quiet and comfort too of her slave population, and that with the last drops of her blood. But I have no prevailing fears as to a war. I have lately had intercourse with many people in the Northern free States, many of them high in office and in honour both in Church and State, and I only saw two out of all that number who hold any affinity with these wild men: Governors of States, Congressmen, Presidents of Colleges, Ministers of the Gospel, and hundreds of exceedingly worthy men, expressed their abhorrence of this Jacobinism. Besides, the late public meetings in Boston and Philadelphia show the state of the public mind there. I will add, that I have not one acquaintance among the Society of Friends (and I am honored with the friendship of many of them residing in Virginia and Philadelphia) who approves of the course of these men.

"6. I confidently expect this storm to pass by, public confidence and general friendship to be restored, our noble Colonization Society (which deploras doubly at this juncture the loss of its great and good President, the late Chief Justice, one of whose last actions was a strong testimony in favor of that cause) to resume her work of mercy and genuine benevolence, and plans for securing the eternal welfare of the slave, to begin with renewed energy to bless both master and servant. If that happy time shall come, and these poor deluded fanatics shall retire from their work of mischief, let us not only forgive but forget their folly and their wickedness, and leave them entirely to their own consciences and the judgment of their God for retribution.

"Lastly—Abolitionists are, like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that they *will be caught* if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way. There is not one man among them who has any more idea of shedding his blood in this cause; than he has of making war on the Grand Turk. Their universal spirit is to stand off and growl and bark at men and institutions, without daring to march for one moment into their midst and attack them with apostolic fearlessness.

With sentiments of great respect, I remain yours, &c.

WM. S. PLUMER."

The man who utters these atrocious sentiments is not of doubtful standing in the church—he is regarded as one of its brightest ornaments. Hence when he shows the rottenness of his heart on this subject, he shows the deep and foul corruption of the church. He exposes what prudence had before striven to hide. He lets fall the veil from that hypocrisy which professes to labor for the *conversion*

of the whole world, while it is secretly resolved never to lay down the bloody lash which makes millions of heathen at home.

Another individual not less distinguished for his activity and zeal in the benevolent operations of the day, is Rev. Wm. J. Armstrong, late of Richmond, but now one of the Secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M. In utterly disclaiming abolitionism, and pronouncing the charge "*false and calumnious*" he says:—

"On the contrary, I have always regarded their measures as rash, unwarrantable, and mischievous; and the spirit in which they have prosecuted them, as violent, reckless and wicked. These sentiments I have freely expressed, both at the North and the South. When last in New York, more than two years ago, I attended a public meeting, as an opponent of abolitionism—and at the close of the meeting, expressed these as my fixed opinions to leading abolitionists who were present, and warned them of the very consequences which are now resulting from their infatuated proceedings.

WM. J. ARMSTRONG,
Sec'y C. B. For. Missions."

These extracts might be indefinitely multiplied, but we have already given enough to show, that the southern ministry are deeply enlisted for the support of slavery, and that we were grossly deceived, when we supposed that the southern church was exerting any influence whatever for the removal of the abomination. The Charleston Courier, of Nov. 14th, 1835, clearly sets forth the ground which the truths of abolitionism have driven the southern church, as well as the southern "world," to occupy:—

"We of the South have been hitherto *much to blame*, in allowing such notions to gain ground at the North, as that we regard slavery as an evil, and are anxious to get rid of it. It is but lately that we have begun to make the northern people to understand, that we hold slavery to be NEITHER A SIN NOR A CURSE, but an ordinance of Providence, and a PRACTICAL BLESSING."

Has a change all at once passed upon southern

opinions of slavery? Have the slaveholders just learned from the denunciations of the abolitionists that slavery is not a *curse*, but a *practical blessing*? Surely not. If they had ever regarded it as an evil, they would have been glad of our aid in its abolition. They would have welcomed discussion. They would have hailed the hope of relief.

Now what mighty cause set in motion this course of action and re-action between the South and the North, or rather, between the enemies and the slumbering friends of human nature, which has so far broken up the fatal delusion of American slavery? We answer, the simple doctrine of the *sin of slavery*, and the *duty of immediate emancipation*, proclaimed and reiterated by the affiliated anti-slavery societies. To the anti-slavery organization is due, under God, the credit of a discovery which no other organization ever approached, and for the want of which, all other professedly anti-slavery movements have but more closely rivetted the fetters of the slaves, and more rapidly urged our country to her ruin.

The spirit of the last annual meeting gave tone to the year. The proposition to raise \$30,000, for the Society's funds, was nobly met by the delegates present, nor was it less magnanimously seconded by the New England Convention, which met in Boston soon after, nor at the annual meeting of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society. How far the resolution has been accomplished, the Treasurer's report will show, and with what benefit to

the cause, we trust will be shown by a much larger attempt the present year. Great accessions were made, at these meetings, of powerful friends. The Methodist clergy, of the central part of New England, deserve especial mention. They came forward almost in a body, animated with the spirit of the venerable Wesley, and openly joined the abolition standard. There were, also, large accessions of the choicest spirits from various other classes of christians. The public convocation in the month of May, seem to have brought into vigorous life all the seed which had been sown broad-east over the free states in the previous winter. The second annual report, laden with these thrilling facts, showing the progress of the past, and the plans of the future, seems to have commenced at the South the great work of tearing off the mask. The southern newspapers, of all parties, betrayed the greatest alarm and indignation. They began to perceive that their past *contempt* for the abolition cause was quite misplaced;—that two hundred affiliated societies of *immediate abolitionists*, rapidly increasing, wielding the power of the press, and making an open and well arranged attempt to change *public sentiment* in regard to the morality of holding men as property, was likely to expose the tyranny and hypocrisy of the South to the detestation of the world, and bring their pretensions about the “necessary evil” to a test they would not bear. Out of irrepressible vexation, they proceeded to hasten the development themselves,—to confess their guilt by angry and murderous threats. The appearance of the

publications themselves, 175,000 of which were issued in the month of July, hastened the development, and brought out the monster into open day. It directly appeared, that in his old hiding place he had acquired the most formidable dimensions, and gigantic strength. The boasted bulwarks of our national liberties, as we have already seen, were but cob-houses before him.

By some, the sending of anti-slavery publications, such as those issued in July, to slaveholders themselves, has been supposed to have been exceedingly shortsighted, impolitic, and indecorous. It has been said, we might have foreseen that such a measure would exceedingly exasperate the South, and close it, perhaps for ever, against a moral appeal of any sort. But when the moral conduct of a set of men was denounced to their countrymen, did not decorum require that they themselves should be served with copies of the charges against them? When the rest of the nation was called upon for a *moral* effort to rescue that sixth part which is in bondage, did not *policy* require the best possible proof to be given, that this action was to be directed to the *conscience* of the master, and not to the *passions* of the slave? And had our foresight been prophetic, ought we to have shunned the means, which being righteous in themselves, have resulted in stripping slavery of its most available defence? Without arrogating to themselves any superior wisdom or foresight in this matter, the Committee must believe that those who accuse them of weakness or folly in this measure, are themselves yet under the influ-

ence of that sad delusion, which this Committee has most earnestly sought to expose and banish.

Having thus narrated the capture of the grand outworks of slavery, and described the means by which it was effected, we proceed to sketch briefly some of the grounds of hope for the final struggle.

Let us again advert to the northern response to the southern demand. That demand amounted to the punishment of the abolitionists, the suppression of their societies and publications, and a total moral non-interference on the part of the North. The response is not yet complete. The merchants, and all those through whose hands the gain of slavery passes, and as many others as they, by their falsehoods, have been able to deceive, have made their response; but as has been already remarked, this is not the response of the North. Neither was even this satisfactory to the South. It lacked the vital principle of action. It fell short of the demand in theory, and still more in practice. It abused the abolitionists, but dared not propose to punish them. Instead of suppressing the anti-slavery publications, it *begged* of abolitionists to put up their pens, and hold their tongues. It vindicated the right of the South to hold slaves, not on the ground of justice or divine law, but on the ground of the *compact* which our fathers were compelled to submit to as the *price of the Union*. There was a backwardness in it which showed that there was either a conscience in the respondents, which revolted from perpetual slavery, and would not tolerate it among themselves, or a moral sense in the community

around them, which must not be too far outraged. In this there is ground for encouragement. The demand of the South can never be higher, and her interested dependents at the North can never have stronger motives to satisfy that demand. The threat of a separation from the Union, was then fresh and terrible. It appalled the heart of every unreflecting patriot, and aroused against the abolitionists all his cherished pride about the stability of his country's constitution. But this never can be again. The South has demonstrated that she is too wise to execute her threat. Her proposed *Southern Convention*, which she loudly vaunted of in August, was laid up in the chamber of oblivion by this simple argument from some of her statesmen, who have not yet parted with their common sense. Your convention must propose to the northern legislatures, a suppression of anti-slavery publications, on penalty of a dissolution. With this demand the northern legislatures will certainly *not comply*; and the South will be left to the alternative of foolishly executing its threat, or dishonorably backing out. The threat has grown stale, and its terror can never be restored. The South will not let go the best safeguard of her slavery out of spite against the abolitionists.

The second part of the response is that of the northern legislatures. Formal appeals have been made to them by the governors and legislatures of the South, urging a course of legislation, auxiliary to that of the South, against the abolitionists. The messages of some of the northern governors were

supposed to indicate some disposition to adopt such legislation in the last resort. They contain abundance of proof that the grand support of slavery is in the corrupt moral sentiment of the North. But the demands were too large, no northern governor however pro-slavery in his feelings, dared to meet them; much less the more direct representatives of the people. Some of them have responded by resolutions, some by the appointment of hitherto non-reporting committees, and some by silence. Massachusetts, by her legislature, has permitted the abolitionists, to some extent, to plead their own cause before her, and her eyes have been so much opened by their arguments that she has refused to hatch the cockatrice's eggs that had been laid for her. The result of this discussion cannot but be most encouraging to the friends of human rights. It is a monument of the vincibility of prejudice and the triumph of plain truth. It is a precedent which must have much weight upon the future legislation of the free states. It shows that abolitionism is not to run in the channels of party politics, but will enlist the sympathies and call forth the energies of true patriots of all parties.

No state is under stronger motives to adopt harsh legislation against the abolitionists than New-York. Her political as well as her commercial relations excite her strongly to maintain the favor of slaveholders, and to pollute her statute books with laws against the free discussion of slavery, yet she has not ventured to do so.

Something, to be sure, must be done to propitiate the South; and it is worthy of reflection, that the best offering which a wise legislature could find, was the *freedom of thought* in the literary institutions cherished by the state. We suspect, that in making this selection, the cost was not counted, but the South only was consulted. The idea was truly southern. The New-York Senate seem to have counted on the alledged "ultraism" of the particular school selected, to be punished with legislative starvation, to insulate it from the common sympathy. But even the rivals of Oneida Institute will sympathize with it in this matter. Their freedom, too, is dear to them, and colleges are too fond of abstract reasoning not to perceive that the freedom of one is the freedom of all. There are strong indications that the proscription of Oneida will be left unfinished; but whether carried into effect or not, it will not fail to benefit the Institute, as well as the cause for which its enemies would make it suffer.

The third part of the northern response is yet to come. The honest, hard-handed, clear-headed, free laborers, and mechanics of the North are yet to reply. This part, the bone and muscle of society, has been looking on with increasing and kindling interest, while the head and tail of society have been strangely connected in acting the part of the South. Purse-proud aristocrats, and penniless profligates have united in the work of opposing the abolitionists, each according to his ability and talents. There is little hope of converting these parties, till we

can change the interests of the one, and take away the grog of the other. But on the middle ground of society is a fair field, where truth bears a hundred fold. The yeomanry of the land will unite on this question—they will identify their interests with those of the slave. They will throw away political and sectarian predilections, and stand forth on the broad ground of human rights. From this class the cause will always gain, and never lose, till slaveholding shall be synonymous with ROBBERY, in public opinion as it is in fact.

A response, too, will go forth from the northern church. Shame that it has never gone before. Shame that in this day it should be a novelty to exclude from the communion of saints, men who make merchandize of the souls for whom Christ died! Yet so it is regarded. A refusal to sit down at the supper of the Lord with men, who systematically rob the hireling of his wages, is an *innovation*. But the wonder is, that a church, which could become so dead to the claims of the oppressed, whose ears should be so sealed to the piercing cry, which for ages has entered into the ears of God, should ever be so graciously visited, as to be awakened even to propose such an innovation. The power of this cause rests in God, and we believe will be acted out through his chosen people—not of one particular name or sect—but all that truly love their God, and honor his law. It is, therefore, with the highest pleasure, that we have witnessed the movements of many of the ecclesiastical bodies during the past year on this subject. The Presbyterian Synod of

Cincinnati has censured one of its Presbyteries, for admitting a slaveholder to the pulpit. A large number of synods, presbyteries, associations, conferences, &c., in New England, New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, have condemned slavery as a sin against God, and have insisted on the duty of immediate emancipation. The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky has adopted and published a report, which unfolds the wickedness of slavery, as it exists in that state, and recommends the *immediate* adoption of a *plan* for *ultimate* emancipation. Though it is to be lamented that these brethren could not have made their doctrine more accordant to the awful facts they detail—that they could not have insisted on the immediate abandonment of what they have represented as so intolerably wicked that no Christian should think of participating in it for a moment; yet the fact of their having honestly spoken the truths of the actual condition of the slave, is greatly encouraging.

It has been most providentially ordered for the cause of American abolition, that while the people of the free states are morally responsible for the continuance of slavery, on account of the ten thousand channels of influence through which they may affect it, their disposition to discharge their moral responsibility is brought to the test by a definite legal, or constitutional responsibility. There is no part of the Constitution of the United States more clear and unequivocal, than that which gives to the representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, the full legislative control of the Dis-

trict of Columbia, "in all cases whatsoever." Never while that Constitution exists, can any voter for a congressman do his duty otherwise than by throwing his vote where it will tell most for the abolition of slavery in that District. The slave states have not the shadow of constitutional right to continue slavery there, any further than they derive that power from their votes. And as their votes are a minority in Congress, we have the spectacle of slavery supported by the votes of non-slaveholders; a plain proof that much of the moral influence of the North is in favor of slavery. The very purpose of putting the District of Columbia under the power of Congress was, that the Capital of the nation might fairly represent the spirit of the nation. And it will do so. From that spot it may be judged, and that is the only spot from which a judgment can be derived, that this is a nation of tyrants, a nation that tramples on the rights of the poor, a nation that traffics in the souls and bodies of its own unfortunate citizens. The duty of removing this reproach lies on every man and woman in the nation,—upon every one who has a vote,—upon every one who has the right of petition,—upon every one who can lift a petition, or exercise the slightest influence over a voter. It is true that abolition in the District of Columbia is not to be expected except in consequence of a great change of public sentiment in the country, and to effect such change, must be the direct and principal object of our labors; still, just in proportion as we succeed in this great and comprehensive object, will our success show it-

self on the question of abolition in the District. Abolition faith will be shown by abolition works. Northern abolitionists will not suffer the retort of slaveholders, "First abolish the slavery in which you participate, before you condemn that which is exclusively ours." This is a question on which zeal can never tire, on which true republicans can never slumber: a question on which defeat is not disgrace, except to the victors, and on which victory is the certain reward of perseverance.

From Congress, at its present session, nothing more could have been expected than has taken place in the country at large—the more full development of the true character of slavery. The petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District have abundantly answered this purpose. They have brought out the spirit of tyranny, which would consign to the fiery furnace every man who, in his honesty, will not fall down and worship the "golden image"—legalized oppression. The speeches of Calhoun, Pickens, Hammond, Wise, and others, have so much enlightened the northern mind, that we trust the tables of the next Congress will groan with a tenfold weight of petitions, and the same champions of eternal and unmitigable bondage will have a still wider opportunity to recommend and explain their darling system to the free laborers of the North. Political cunning has, for the present, buried this important discussion in the halls of Congress; but we have this consolation, that those who voted the burial, dared not deny the constitutional right of Congress to act in the case,

and have thus furnished as strong a proof as such a majority could, that Congress *has* the power. Good men, however, of all parties, will not forget those who, for the sake of personal ends, presumed to vote, that "Congress *ought not, in any way*, to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia." Such traitors to the honor of their country, and the rights of the laborer, will be remembered at the polls—that they may be forgotten.

Friends and fellow laborers, the enemy now stands openly before us. His foot is on the neck, of 2,500,000 of our fellow-men. He asserts his right to maintain his position, and to increase the number of his victims. He begs no longer any favors from the circumstances of the case, he talks no more about a hard *necessity*: he boldly avows slavery to be the best condition of the laborer, without qualification of color or clime. He madly threatens more closely to shut out the light of eternal life from the imprisoned soul, as if the dark and fanatical mixture of christianity and heathenism, under an even increasing load of stripes and chains, were less likely to breed insurrection and servile war than the kind influences of free and genuine christianity combined with the mild and equitable government of law! Such is the enemy that we find rampant amidst our free institutions;—defended on all sides by fortifications built out of our flattery or neglect. Is there a man that loves his country or his race who will not *now* take the side of freedom? Is there a woman? Is there a child? The work is plain. Let abolitionists plant in every

free breast a holy horror of the sin of slavery, by exposing in the light of truth its nature and tendencies. This will cut off the supply of enterprise and talent and sanctity that has yearly flowed to the South to prop up the unhallowed system. It will purify the church; it will abolitionize southern travelers and residents in the North instead of permitting them to diffuse the power of slavery among us. It will lay slaveholders under an embargo, surround them, as the moral invalids of the universe, with a *cordon sanitaire*. It will confine the contagion to the spot of its origin, as the pest house of human nature. Who can doubt, with such treatment a speedy recovery? Let the abolitionists see to it that the rights of humanity, and the high privileges of our country are secured to our colored brethren who are free. Let them smile upon their laudable endeavors to elevate themselves, and wash off the marks of the degrading chain and scourge. Let them trample on the cord of caste and dare to treat men according to their deserts and not according to the mean and guilty prejudices of an oppressive nation. Let them throw open to deserving colored youth—the mechanic's shop, the farm, the counting house and the halls of education. Of what use is freedom if it does not open the door to manhood?

Let it be remembered that the practicability and safety of our advice to the slaveholders is no longer a matter of question. They said to us, let us wait and see the result of the emancipation of 800,000 British slaves. Well, we *have* seen the re-

sult, and it verifies all our predictions,—if those may be called predictions, which are but the plainest teachings of common sense.

In fine, the Committee would congratulate their brethren of the Society upon the field before them. It is one of certain conquest. But still, if there are any who would join us, who have not made up their minds to suffer far more of reproach and violence than has yet been experienced,—nay, even death itself, they had better turn back. This Society has no rewards to bestow, but those of a good conscience. With all the advance of our principles, the brute force of the community is not on our side. We have opened, and shall open, no road to political preferment. Every inch of the way is to be fought through odium and proscription. The moment the cause shall have become popular, it will have accomplished its object; and if any have hoped to ascend by it to earthly glory, they will find themselves on the ground. The strength of our cause must be in the “humble, fervent prayer of the righteous man, which availeth much,” and the blessing of that God, who hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty.

By order of the Executive Committee,

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

Sec. of Dom. Cor.

New-York, May 10th, 1836.

LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

The following list, with all its imperfections is submitted, as better than none. The errors which may be pointed out during the year, will be carefully corrected in the next Report. Secretaries of all Anti-Slavery Societies are earnestly requested, seasonably to attend to the Resolutions on the 26th page of this Report.

The figures in the last column, enclosed in parentheses, represent the number of members at the date of the society's organization; the succeeding figures, the number at the present time. Where the original number of members is not thus given, the number which stands against any society was given when its organization was first reported.

MAINE.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Augusta,	Richard H. Vose,		50.
Bath,	Henry Masters,	March 1833,	
Bangor,			
Bloomfield and Milburn,			
Brunswick,	Rev. George E. Adams,		
Bridgeton,			
Bowdoin College,			75.
Bux on,	Peter Libby,	March 1836,	(11) 29.
Cumberland County,	Prof. W. Smyth,	Feb. 1835,	
Cumberland,	Reuben Sweetzer,		
Farmington,	John Titcomb,		
Farhaven,		April 1835,	
Gardiner,	Joel Cowee,	Feb. 1835,	50.
Gorham,	Charles O. Libby,	Dec. 1835,	(7) 21.
Hebron,		May 1835,	
Hallowell,	George Shepherd,	Oct. 1833,	
Kennebeck County,			
Limington,	Joseph Brackett,	March 1836,	(25) 83.
MAINE (State),	Rev. Geo. E. Adams,	Oct. 1834,	
Mount Desert,	Rev. C. L. Carey,	May 1834,	
Minot,	Benjamin Johnson,	April 1836,	
New Sharon,	Samuel Mason,		
North Yarmouth,	Samuel Harris,	Dec. 1834,	(22) 131.
Oxford County,			
Portland,	P. H. Greenleaf,	March 1833,	40.
Portland, (Young Men's)	James M. Dodge,	Oct. 1834,	100.
Portland, (Female)	Mrs. Miriam Hussey,	April 1834,	(74) 80.
Turner,			90.
Vassalboro,			
Waterville,			
Winthrop,	Stephen Sewall, Esq.,	March 1834,	(30) 103.
Weld,	Jacob Abbot, Esq.,		
Wayne,			
Walnut Hill,	John Bacon,	March 1836,	20.

Total number of Societies, 34.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Boscawen,	Alonzo Chadwick,	June 1835,	86.
Bristol,	Jacob S. Eaton,	Sep. 1835,	
Bedford,	Dr. Peter P. Woodbury,	Dec. 1835,	31.
Canaan,	Hubbard Harris, Jr.	April 1835,	70.
Concord,	John Farmer,	June 1834,	53.
Concord, (Female)	Miss Mary Clark,	Nov. 1834,	104.
Campton,	Davis Baker, Esq.	Feb. 1834,	63.
Chichester,	J. W. Towle,	July 1835,	73.
Chester,	Amos Chase,	Sep. 1835,	(68) 70.
Concord, (Juvenile)	Charles A. Davis,	Dec. 1835,	63.
Dunbarton,	Dea. Daniel H. Parker,	Aug. 1834.	80.
Dover,	Wm. H. Alden.	Feb. 1835,	121.
Dover, (Female)	Miss Elizabeth Wheeler,	Feb. 1835,	382.
Dover, (Young Men's)	Dr. A. G. Fenner,	Aug. 1835,	66.
Dartmouth College,	George S. Towle,	March 1836,	64.
Goffstown,	David A. Bunton,	April 1835.	(35) 160.
Great Falls,	Theodore B. Moses,	Dec. 1834,	(101) 206.
Grantham,	Edward A. Rice,	Nov. 1835,	(20) 25.
Grantham, (Female)	Miss. Emeline Cone,	Nov. 1835,	30.
Henniker,	Rev. Amos Kidder,	1835,	
Hopkinton,	Stephen Blanchard,	July 1835,	
Hampton Falls,	N. Ambrose,		
Haverhill,	T. K. Blaisdell,	July 1835,	55.
Kingston,			
London,	Dr. James B. Abbott,	May 1835,	
N. Hampton, (Theo.Sem.)	Edwin R. Reynolds,	Aug. 1834,	30.
NEW HAMPSHIRE, (State)	John Farmer,	Nov. 1834,	
N. H. Conference, (M. E. C.)			70.
Northfield and Sanbornton,	D. Sanborn,	March 1835,	135.
New Market,	George F. Tibbetts,	Jan. 1836.	
New Market (Female)	Miss Sally Shepherd,	Feb. 1836,	90.
Plymouth,	N. P. Rogers, Esq.	Dec. 1833,	
Plymouth, (Female)	Mrs. N. P. Rogers,	Feb. 1834,	102.
Pittsfield,	Dr. Jeremiah Blake,	May 1835,	
Rochester,	Henry M. Lindsay,	Feb. 1836,	
Rochester, (Female)	Miss. Caroline Hale,	Feb. 1836,	
Sandwich,	Joseph L. Quimby,	Sep. 1835,	63.
Sandwich, (Female)		Oct. 1836,	63.
Strafford County,	Dr. John M. Berry,	April 1836,	
Windham,	Daniel L. Simpson,	1834,	
Weare,	Moses A. Cortland,	March 1835,	
Westmoreland,			

Total number of Societies, 42.

VERMONT.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Addison County,	Oliver Johnson,	July 1835,	
Andover,		July 1835,	
Barnet and Ryegate,	William M'Leran,	March 1834,	(25) 130.
Bennington,	James Ballard,	July 1835,	140.
Bristol,		March 1835,	
Brandon,	Ephraim Marcham,	Feb. 1836,	(21) 78.
Cabot,	Milton Fisher,		
Craftsbury,	Samuel M. Wilson,		140.
Cornwall,	Oliver J. Eells,	July 1833,	(8) 167.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Chester,	Samuel Collins, Samuel C. Fletcher, Rowland T. Robinson,	July 1834,	
Danville,		Dec. 1834,	150.
Enosburgh,		March 1834,	(67) 122.
Ferrisburgh and vicinity,			
Fayston,	Leander Hoskins,	Jan. 1836,	(150) 300.
Fairfield,		Jan. 1835,	
Fairfax,		Jan. 1836,	115.
Franklin,	Solomon Bliss,	Jan. 1835,	
Granville,		April 1833,	
Georgia,	Joel Holton,	Nov. 1834,	
Hancock,		April 1836,	50.
Jamaica,		Jan. 1835,	(14) 175.
Jericho,	Oliver Johnson	Oct. 1835,	(50) 100.
Monkton,		April 1835,	(48) 91.
Middlebury,		March 1836,	(44) 64.
Montpelier,	C. L. Knapp,		
Newbury Centre,	John Stevenson,		
North Fairfield,	Elias H. Sherman,		
Orwell,			
Peacham,	Dr. Zebina Panyborn,	Aug. 1833,	
Rutland,			
Rupert,	A. Johnson,	Feb. 1834,	
Rochester,		Jan. 1835,	
Starksboro,	Jonathan Battey,	May 1834,	(50) 368.
Shoreham,			234.
Townshend,	Dr. J. Holton,	March 1836,	40.
VERMONT, (State)	O. S. Murray,	May 1834,	
Waitsfield,	Ithamar Smith,	Feb. 1834,	60.
Walden,			
Wallingford,			
Westford,		Nov. 1834,	
Weybridge,		March 1834,	
Whiting,		April 1834,	
Wilmington,	Wm. Stearns,		
Windham County,		March 1836,	

Total number of Societies, 44.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Amesbury Mills,	James Rowell,	Dec. 1833,	50.
" (Female),	Miss Betsey Linscott,	Dec. 1833,	70.
Attleborough,	Nathaniel Wright,		
Andover,	R. Reed,	Jan. 1835,	50.
Ashburnham,	Gilman Jones,	Nov. 1834,	50.
Acton,			
Amherst (North Parish),		Feb. 1836,	
Abington,	Nath. H. Whiting,	March 1836,	
Buckland,			
Boston (Young Men's),	S. O. Torrey,	Sept. 1833,	(20) 189.
Boston Ladies,	Miss A. W. Weston,	Oct. 1833,	(12) 300.
Bowdoin St. (Boston),	Wm. H. Hayward,	Nov. 1834,	35.
Barnstable,	Rev. Dr. Cheeseman,	Feb. 1835,	109.
Boxboro,	Samuel Hayward,	June 1835,	60.
Boxboro (Female),	Mrs. E. Hayward,	June 1835,	100.
Bradford,	Dr. Geo. Cogswell,	July 1835,	
Cambridge,			
Cambridgeport,			

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Cummington,	Stephen Vialle, Jun.	Sept. 1835,	(24) 30.
"Cowper" (Boston,)	Rev. David Sandford,	April 1835,	(19) 205.
Dorchester,	John G. Whittier,	June 1834,	103.
Essex County,	John A. Allan,	May 1835,	50.
Essex St. (Boston,)	Rev. David Brigham,	March 1836,	46.
East Randolph,	Otis Hodges,		
Foxborough,	Milton M. Fisher,		
Franklin,	A. Brownson,	July 1834,	112.
Fall River,	Miss Sarah Buffum,		
Fall River (Female,)		July 1833,	
Freetown,	C. B. Farnsworth,	Oct. 1834,	60.
Groton,	Elizabeth Farnsworth,	March 1836,	(12) 52.
Groton (Female,)	Charles White,	April 1834,	210.
Holden,	Rev. Robert B. Dickie,	June 1835,	65.
Hanover,		July 1835,	
Harwich,	John G. Whittier,		
Haverhill,	Miss E. H. Whittier,		
Haverhill (Female,)	Bucklin Fitts,	July 1834,	(40) 100.
Holliston,		Jan. 1836,	
Hebronville,		Feb. 1836,	
Hatfield,		Nov. 1834,	75.
Kingston,		March 1834,	75.
Lowell,	Rev. Wm. Twining,	Dec. 1834,	980.
Lowell (Female,)	Mrs. Nathaniel Thurston,	Jan. 1836,	110.
Lowell (Young Men's,)	Samuel A. Brown,	April 1832,	(5) 185.
Lynn,	Edward S. Davis,	May 1835,	90.
Lynn (Female,)	Anna Purinton,	Dec. 1834,	37.
Middleboro,	Nath. A. Eddy,	Dec. 1834,	(50) 100.
Milbury,	Elias Lovell,	Oct. 1834,	
Middlesex County,	Rev. Wm. Twining,	Jan. 1832,	
MASSACHUSETTS (State,)	Rev. S. J. May,	Feb. 1836,	
Middlefield,			
Nantucket,	Edward J. Pompey,	April 1834,	110.
Newburyport and vic.	Phineas Crandall,	May 1834,	(80) 112.
Newburyport (Female,)	Miss Susan C. Wood,	July 1834,	(30) 120.
New Bedford,	John Burrage,	May 1834,	(96) 108.
New Rowley,	Daniel Palmer,	Feb. 1836,	(50) 75.
New Bedford (Y. Men's,)	H. W. Lee,	April 1836,	
Northfield,	Jonathan Cutting,		
Old Colony,	Geo. Russell,	Jan. 1836,	200.
Old Hampshire,	Isaac Clark,	July 1834,	(53) 91.
Plymouth County,	Geo. Russell,	June 1834,	30.
Pine St. (Boston,)	Charles C. Barry,	March 1833,	
Reading,	Wm. Wakefield, Jun.	March 1833,	
Reading (Female,)	Mrs. Cynthia Pendexter,	Jan. 1834,	(70) 469.
Salem and vic.,	Rev. Geo. B. Cheever,		153.
Salem (Female,)	Miss L. L. Dodge,	April 1834,	73.
South Reading,	Rev. Isaac Sawyer,		
Scituate,	Jacob Vinal,		
Sudbury (Female,)	Miss Mary Rice,		
Salem St. (Boston,)			
South Reading (Female,)	Miss M. A. Avery,	Dec. 1835,	(12) 33.
South Weymouth (Fem.)	Mrs. E. T. Lord,	Nov. 1835,	112.
Taunton,	Hodges Reed,	May 1835,	100.
Uxbridge,	Richard Battey,	March 1834,	310.
Uxbridge (Female,)	Sylvia Willard,	March 1836,	57.
Waltham,	Geo. A. Williams,		
Weston,	Lewis Gourgas,		
Wrentham,	Joseph B. Gerauld,		
Woburn,	Henry A. Woodman,	Nov. 1834,	

NEW-YORK.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
<i>Allegany County,</i>	Rev. Moses Hunting,	April 1835,	50.
Auburn (Theo. Sem.,)	John J. Keep,		
Albany,	Otis Allen,	May 1835,	200.
Antwerp,	J. A. Northrop,	Dec. 1835,	110.
Arcade,			
Albany (Colored,)	J. G. Stewart,	April 1836,	
Buffalo,	E. A. Marsh,		
Buffalo (Female,)	Miss Harriet Rossiter,	Sept. 1835,	40.
Brighton,	Gardner Mudge,	Sept. 1835,	40.
Chat. Chap. N. Y. (Fem.,)	Dorcas Bell,		
Cuba,	Kendall Wilder,		
Champlain,	Julius Churchill,		
Catskill,	Charles Sturtevant,	May 1835,	30.
Cazenovia,		April 1835,	
Castile,	J. B. Wilcox,		
Clinton,			
Cincinnatus,	Lewis T. Hawley,	March 1835,	60.
Chateaugay,	G. W. P. Beman,	March 1836,	68.
<i>Erie County,</i>	Levi A. Skinner,	Oct. 1835,	
Eden,			
Franklin,	Joseph H. Merrick,		
Farmington,	J. C. Hathaway,		
Fort Ann,	William Barnes,	Aug. 1835,	
Fulton,	A. P. Knox, Esq.		40.
Greenbush,		April 1835,	70.
<i>Genesee County,</i>	C. O. Shepard,	May 1835,	
Greenwich,	Edwin Andrews,	July 1835,	
Griffin's Mills,		Sept. 1835,	
Hudson (Female,)	Maria Mariott,	Nov. 1833,	19.
Hamilton,	Thomas Potheary,		
Hamilton College,	W. Richardson,	May 1835,	(16) 23.
Homer,	Simeon S. Bradford,	Dec. 1835,	(20) 100.
Huntsville,	Bradley Blakeley,	Feb. 1836,	
Hebron,	Dr. David Martin,		
Hartford,	John Carlisle,		
Java,			
<i>Jefferson County,</i>			
Jay,	Franklin Storer,	Oct. 1835,	100.
Leyden,	Ezra Carter,	May 1834,	(17) 30.
<i>Lewis County,</i>	Henry Page, Esq.,	Aug. 1835,	
Le Roy,		Sep. 1835,	100.
Ledyard,	John J. Thomas,	March 1835,	(13) 104.
Litchfield,		Feb. 1836,	
Lockport,		March 1836,	76.
Lebanon,	Ezra Campbell,	Dec. 1835,	(8) 40.
<i>Monroe County,</i>	Dr. W. W. Reid,		
Morrisville,		April 1835,	
Manlius,	John M'Vickar,	June 1836,	(60) 112.
Mt. Morris,	Reuben Sleeper,	April 1836,	(80) 100.
Milville,	Rev. Richard Dunning,	Dec. 1835,	(20) 40.
New-York City,		Oct. 1833,	(24) 100.
New-York (Young Men's,)	J. F. Robinson, Esq.,	May 1834,	
New-York (Female,)	Mrs. A. L. Cox,	April 1835,	
New Hartford,	Dr. U. H. Kellogg,		
Nunda,		July 1835,	160.
<i>New-York (State,)</i>	Rev. B. Green,	Oct. 21, 1835,	625.
North Bergen,		March 1836,	200.
<i>Oncida County,</i>	Peletiah Rawson,	May 1835,	

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Oneida Institute,	Alfred C. Lathrop,	June 1833,	(20) 82.
Oneida Castle,			30.
<i>Oswego County,</i>	Starr Clark,	Oct. 1835,	(36) 77.
Poughkeepsie,	John L. Duzenbury	March 1835,	(13) 62.
Peru and Chesterfield,	P. B. Watson,	March 1835,	500.
Perry,	Josiah Andrews,	Feb. 1835,	(150) 250.
Palmyra,			
Perrinton,	Justus Beardsley,	Feb. 1836,	
Paris,	William Walker,	Aug. 1835,	(30) 70.
Peru (Female,)	H. P. Barker,	Aug. 1835,	167.
Rochester City,	G. A. Avery,	Dec. 1833,	(44) 476.
Rochester (Fem. Colored,)			
Rome,	Benj. P. Johnson,	July 1834,	184.
Richland,	W. H. Pettit,	April 1835,	(13) 34.
Rochester (Female,)	Mary P. Mathews,	Sep. 1835,	(60) 400.
Ridgeville,	Joshua M. Fiske,		60.
Shushan,	Daniel Valentine, Jun.		
Scipio,	Enoch Honeywell,		
Smithfield and vic.	Colquhoun Grant,	July 1834,	(14) 100.
Sherburne,	J. Copeland,		100.
Sherburne (Female,)	Mrs. H. Avery,	April 1835,	
Springville,		Sept. 1835,	
Sandlake,			
<i>Suffolk County,</i>	Rev. J. R. Moser,	Aug. 1835,	
Sanquoit (Female,)	Emily Priest,	May 1835,	(20) 44.
Turin,	Wm. White,		
Troy,	Wm. Yates,	April 1835,	150.
Troy (Female,)		April 1835,	
Utica,	Rev. O. Wetmore,	June 1834,	(60) 550.
Utica (Juvenile,)		April 1833,	
Utica (Female Juvenile,)		April 1833,	
Utica (Young men's,)	J. T. Marshall,	Dec. 1833,	100.
Utica (Female,)	Mrs. M. S. Savage,	Nov. 1835,	77.
Volney,			
Whitesboro' (Female,)	Miss — Berry,		
Wethersfield,	Morris Sutherland,		
Washington,	Robert F. Biddle,		
Whitestown,	Rev. L. H. Loss,	April 1834,	291.
Wesleyan (N. Y. city,)	Rev. Le Roy Sunderland,		
Windsor,	Spencer Reed,	April 1834,	47.
<i>Washington County,</i>		Nov. 1835,	
Wales,			
Wilson,	Asa S. Hatch,	Feb. 1836,	(17) 124.
Whitcreek,	H. R. Dunham,	March 1836,	
York,	Rev. John Fisher,	April 1835,	(35) 140.
Total number of Societies, 103.			

NEW JERSEY.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Boonton,	John Grimes,		
Newark, (Colored,)	A. B. Ray,	1834,	
Newark,	Ellison Conger,	April 1836,	60.
Princeton,			
Springfield,		1834,	
Whippany,	Rev. W. Newell,		

Total number of Societies, 6.

PENNSYLVANIA.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Alleghenytown,		Jan. 1836,	
Butler,			
<i>Beaver County,</i>	Rev. Geo. Scott,	Feb. 1836,	
Belfontain,	Jno. Scott,		35.
Clarkson, (Sadsbury,)	Eli Hambleton,	Dec. 1832,	60.
Coatesville,		Aug. 1835,	
Connelsville,	Herman Gebhart,	April 1836,	39.
East Fallowfield,	James Fulton, Jr.,	Aug. 1835,	(34) 41.
<i>Erie County,</i>	Rev. Charles Morton,	Feb. 1836,	
Greenville,			
Harrisburgh,	Samuel Cross,	Jan. 1836,	
Honesdale,	Stephen Brush,		86.
<i>Mercer County,</i>	Rev. A. W. Black,	July 1835,	
Millstown,		Aug. 1835,	
Mt. Pleasant,		Feb. 1836,	100.
Northeast,	Alexander Cochran, Esq.,	Aug. 1835,	(29) 86.
Philadelphia,	Benj. S. Jones,	April 1834,	(35) 80.
Philadelphia, (Y. men's,)	Wm. Greaves,	May 1835,	125.
Philadelphia, (Female,)	Mary Grew,	Dec. 1833,	80.
Pittsburgh,	John Dickson,	Oct. 1833,	(20) 140.
Pittsburgh, (Female,)	Mrs. R. W. Lambdin,	Jan. 1836,	(8) 47.
Perryopolis,		April 1836,	
Salona,			
<i>Susquehanna County,</i>	Albert L. Post,	April 1836,	
Smithfield,	Rev. B. Allen,	April 1836,	51.
West Middletown,			
West Chester,		Aug. 1835,	
Warren,		Aug. 1835,	
<i>Westmoreland County,</i>	Wm. Brown,	Feb. 1836,	
Washington, (Wash. Co.,)	Sam. McFarland, Esq.,	Sept. 1834,	(20) 140.
Washington, (Fay. Co.,)		April 1836,	
York,			

Total number of Societies, 32.

OHIO.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	NO. MEMBS.
Austinburg,	Rev. Henry Cowles,		
Adams & Brown Co.,	John C. Pouge,	Sept. 1833,	
Andover,			
Ashtabula Co., (Female,)	Miss Betsey Cowles,	Sept. 1835,	224.
Atwater,			
Athens,		Jan. 1836,	94.
Avon,			
Akron,	William E. Wright,	Feb. 1836,	
Brunswick,	A. Myers,	1835,	86.
Bloomington,	James T. Claypoole,	May 1835,	(35) 100.
Bloomfield,			
Bristol,			
Brimfield,	Wm. Hall,	Feb. 1836,	42.
Batavia,			
Cleveland,	S. Severance,		
Columbiana and Fairfield,	Lot Holmes,	1834,	43.
Chillicothe,	John N. Templeton,		

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Circleville,			
Chester,	Dr. Wm. N. Hudson,	April 1835,	(20) 125.
Cadiz,	Wm. Boyer,	1835,	50.
Claridon,			
Clarksfield,	Thomas T. Husted,	Aug. 1835,	26.
Columbiana County,	Abner G. Kirk,	Oct. 1834,	
Canton,	Abraham Baer,		
Cincinnati,			
Canton (Female,)	Mrs. E. A. G. Griswold,	March 1836,	17.
Cuyahoga Falls,	O. Wetmore,	Jan. 1836,	50.
Carlisle,	N. S. Bishop,		40.
Charleston,	R. Loomis,	1835,	25.
Dover,	Wells Porter,	Jan. 1836,	
Deer Creek—Stark Co.,	Samuel Beane,	March 1836,	60.
Elyria,			
Elyria (Female,)			
Euclid,			40.
Edinburgh,	E. Pearson,	March 1835,	24.
Farmington,	Rev. D. Miller,	1833,	
<i>Fayette County,</i>	James G. Claypoole,	May 1835,	52.
Freeport,	W. Woolcott,		25.
Felicity,			60.
Fitchville,			50.
Freedom,	Daniel T. Milliken,		30.
Gustavus,	J. W. Libby,	Sept. 1833,	70.
Geneva,	A. Cowles,		40.
<i>Geauga County,</i>	Rev. A. Bridgman,	Sept. 1834,	(7) 650.
Green Plain,	Thomas Barton,		
Granville,	Dr. W. W. Bancroft,	July 1835,	
Granville (Female,)	Mary E. Drury,	June 1835,	40.
Geneva (Female,)	Mary Fitch,		
Green,	M. Churchill,		75.
Georgetown (Har. Co.,)	Isaac Lewis,	March 1836,	(50) 75.
Grafton,			
Georgetown (Brown Co.,)			
Hudson,	J. B. Walker;	Sept. 1834,	(30) 84
Harrisville,	Samuel Lewis,		
Hartford,	D. Bushnell,		20.
Huntsburgh,			
<i>Harrison County,</i>		1834,	
Hinckley,	O. Wilcox;		36.
Harveysburgh,	Dr. Jesse Harvey,	March 1836,	(14) 17.
Jefferson,			
Jersey,	Stephen R. Ward;		
Johnsonville,	N. Webb,		25.
Kinsman,			
Kingsville,			
Kirtland (Geauga Co.,)			(86) 122.
Lexington,	Jonas Crosby,		
<i>Lorain County,</i>	Albert A. Bliss,		
Lyme,			
Lima,	James Austin,		
Liverpool,			54.
Litchfield,	O. Cole,	1836,	72.
Miami University,	J. M. Stone,		
<i>Muskingum County,</i>	J. C. Brown,	1834,	180.
Medina,	Timothy Hudson, Esq.,		
Mahoning,	J. H. Day,		
Muskingum Co. (Female,)	Mrs. Hez. Sturges,	April 1835,	52.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Milan,			75.
Mt. Pleasant,			106.
Moulton,	Samuel Hall,	1835,	80.
Marietta,		Aug. 1834,	80.
Madison,	Rev. E. W. Adams,	1835,	90.
Marlborough,	Dr. A. Brooke,	Feb. 1836,	12.
Munson,	A. H. Talcott,	Jan. 1836,	112.
Middleburg,			
Madison (Female,)	Mrs. Glezen,		141.
Mt. Union,			50.
New Garden,	William Griffith,		34.
Nelson,	S. Baldwin,	May 1835,	(20) 60.
New Lisbon,	John Frost,	March 1836,	(15) 55.
New Richmond,	W. G. Gage,	Jan. 1836,	(12) 122.
New Concord,	Andrew Magee,	Dec. 1835,	24.
New Athens,	Hugh Stevenson,	Aug. 1834,	
North Bloomfield,	Asa Smith,		
Norwich,			
OHIO (State,)	Albert A. Guthrie,	April 1835,	
Oberlin,	U. T. Chamberlain,	June 1835,	(230) 300.
Oberlin (Female,)	Mrs. E. P. Ingersoll,	Dec. 1835,	48.
Oberlin (Young Ladies,)	Miss Angeline L. Terry,	Dec. 1835,	86.
Pickaway County,	J. B. Finley,	March 1835,	
Paint Valley,	Rev. James H. Dickey,	May 1833,	942.
Portage County,	James S. Carpenter,		
Painesville,	B. Pepoon,	Sept. 1835,	(100) 120.
Portage County (Female,)	Miss Lucy Wright,		
Randolph,	Truman Case,	Feb. 1834,	(14) 55.
Ripley,	Hon. A. Campbell.		
Ravenna,		Oct. 1835,	
Richfield,	Wyllys Welton,	Jan. 1836,	
Russel,	Wesley Whipple,	Jan. 1836,	(22) 33.
Streetsboro',	D. Lane,	Nov. 1835,	46.
St. Albans,	Mahlon Holden,	July 1835,	70.
St. Albans (Female,)	H. Case,		
Salem (Colum. County,)	A. G. Kirk,	1836,	
Sheffield,	J. S. Burril,	Jan. 1836,	(50) 77.
Somerton,	B. Stanton,	1835,	(15) 85.
Stark County;	A. Baer, Jr.,	1836,	60.
Tallmadge,	Elizur Wright, Esq.,	April 1833,	87.
Unity (Colum. County,)			
Vernon,	G. M. Aikin,		
Vienna,	Festus Reed,		
Vernon (Female,)	Mary P. Sutliff,	Aug. 1835,	20.
Western Reserve,	Rev. J. Monteith,	Aug. 1833,	
Western Reserve College,	Horace C. Taylor,	Nov. 1832,	70.
Windham,	Dea. Kingsley,	Sept. 1834,	60.
Warren,			
Wakeman,			70.
Washington County,	S. Hall,	Feb. 1836,	
Waynesburgh (Wayne Co)	William Rogers,	Feb. 1836,	85.
Welch Hill,	Erasmus Phillips,	Oct. 1835,	(30) 40.
Willoughby,		April 1836,	121.
Waynesburgh (Stark Co.,)			30.
West Union,			60.
Wellington,			50.
Wayne (Female,)	Rachael Babcock,		

Total number of Societies, 133.

MICHIGAN.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Farmington, <i>Lenawee County,</i> <i>Oakland County,</i> Webster and Scio,	Wm. E. Prier, D. Comstock, George W. Wisner, Theodore Foster,	Feb. 1836, March 1836,	50. 20.

Total number of Societies, 4.

INDIANA.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
South Hanover College.			

ILLINOIS.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Putnam County, Union Grove,	George B. Willis, Nahum Gould,		

KENTUCKY.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
KENTUCKY (State.)	Luke Munsell,	March 1835,	40.

TENNESSE.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Rock Creek,	Allen Leeper,	June 1835,	11.

NEW ENGLAND.

NAMES.	SECRETARIES.	DATES.	No. MEMBS.
Wesleyan,	Rev. Phineas Crandall,	June 1835,	70:

Total number of Societies in the United States - - - - 527.

ERRATA.

P. 12, sixth line from the top, for "my time," read "*any* time;"—p. 16, seventh line from the top, for "hand," read *head* ;"—p. 17, twenty-first line from bottom, for "in the Southern Slavery," read "in *the subject of* Southern Slavery."

tance of increasing the number of living agents who will go forth, in the name of the Lord, to enlighten the public mind, to form auxiliaries, to encourage the establishment of depositories, and to abolitionize the people. It is their desire and determination, as the means are furnished, to send able, fearless and devoted lecturers into every free state in the Union.

It appears indispensable to the vigorous prosecution of the holy cause in which we are engaged that the contributions of its friends should be mainly placed in the treasury of the parent institution; that the agents should, in concurrence with the auxiliaries, be appointed by, and be responsible to, the Executive Committee; and that state, county, and other auxiliaries should make it a leading object to aid their central Executive Committee in giving efficiency to the publications and agencies of the society, while in their respective localities, they aim to reach those points, and attend to those matters that might be otherwise overlooked.

We congratulate the friends of the cause on the vantage ground already gained by abolitionists, and the friends of free discussion, in spite of the misrepresentation, calumny, and opposition of the avowed friends of slavery, and their interested allies. We have every thing to hope for in a free press, in the constitutional right of free discussion, and especially in the overruling providence of God, who is against the oppressor, and on the side of the oppressed and their advocates. To him let us look, with faith and prayer, and not be angered or dismayed at opposition, however virulent, in high places or low. As men of peace, as citizens shielded by a free constitution and protecting laws, as Christians not leaning upon an arm of flesh but trusting in the living God, let us be meek under injuries, determined amidst assaults, and move firmly onward to the attainment of the sacred object before us, until complete success shall crown our efforts, and liberty shall be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of this republic.

The committee earnestly recommend that the concert of prayer, on the last Monday evening of every month be well attended, and that, on these occasions, collections be taken up in the cause of freedom; that every auxiliary have regular meetings and addresses; that female societies be every where formed; that juvenile societies be encouraged; that every abolitionist, male and female, feel that a personal responsibility devolves upon them to circulate the publications of the society, far and wide, and by conversation, prayer, and personal effort, to diffuse light and win over opponents. Where there are but few abolitionists in a place, nay if there be but one, let exertions be made to introduce the subject of abolition into lyceums and debating societies, in full confidence that fair discussion will ever make converts to our principles.

Ministers of the gospel are respectfully entreated to remember the enslaved, and their advocates, in their public addresses to the Most High—that those who groan in bondage may have patience and forbearance, and that those who take their lives in their hands to assert the claims of the oppressed may have grace from on high, and a mouth and wisdom that all their adversaries cannot gainsay nor resist. Petitions to the Congress of the United States, for the abolition of the slave-trade, and slavery, at the seat of government, should be continued. On this subject, no time should be lost and no effort spared. Every friend of God and man should make his voice to be heard on this subject at the next session of that body. Members of churches should also forward petitions to their respective ecclesiastical bodies, praying for such action as will purify the church of God from this awful sin.

A large edition of the annual report, together with the proceedings of the society at the anniversary meetings, has been published, and as directed by the society, will be sent as far as possible through the length and breadth of the land. We commend this document to the examination of all friends of free discussion, of the rights of man, of their country, and of universal freedom.

Remittances from auxiliaries, and those making *donations* to the society, should be made to Mr. John Rankin, Treasurer, No. 8 Cedar street; all remittances for *publications*, should be made to Mr. R. G. Williams, Publishing Agent, corner of Nassau and Spruce streets.

By order of the Executive Committee,

E. WRIGHT, Jr., Cor. Sec'y.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On the first week of each month is issued a small newspaper, entitled HUMAN RIGHTS; on the second week, the ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD; on the third week the VOICE OF FREEDOM, on an enlarged sheet; and on the fourth week, the SLAVE'S FRIEND. It is intended to distribute all these publications, so far as the funds of the society will allow, *gratuitously*, to persons not known to be abolitionists.

To support this system of distribution, the committee look to the liberality of the friends of the oppressed, and invite them either to come forward with pledges to pay certain sums to the Society's funds during the year, or to purchase the publications at the following prices:

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In addition to the above, the EMANCIPATOR is published weekly, at \$2, also the QUARTERLY ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE, at \$1 per annum, always in advance. Persons forwarding the money for five copies of either, *free of postage*, shall be entitled to a sixth copy gratis.

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